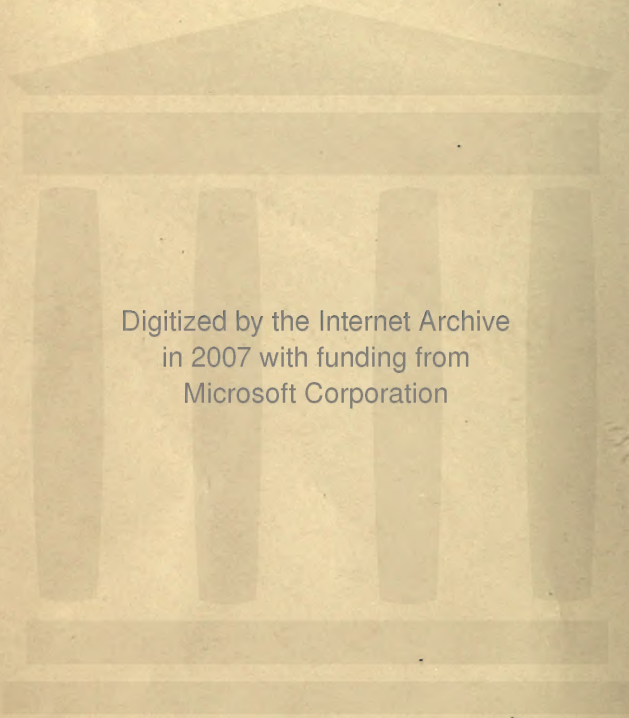




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Source-Book of
English History



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Source-Book of English History

For the Use of Schools and Readers

EDITED BY

ELIZABETH KIMBALL KENDALL, M.A.

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906
New York

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this little book is stated elsewhere, but a few words of explanation are in place here. In the selection of materials I have endeavoured to use extracts which were of real value for purposes of study, and yet of a nature to arouse the interest of the boy or girl of sixteen. No attempt has been made to treat of every important event or aspect of English history. I have rather sought to bring together extracts illustrating the dominant interest of each period. It may seem that a disproportionate share of the extracts is given to the later times. I have felt that this departure from the practice of most histories and text-books was justified by the great difficulty in gaining access to the original materials of the history of the last three centuries. Effort has been made to use the earliest or best edition available, and to reproduce the text with exactness. In some cases, however, the spelling has been deliberately modernised. This has been done wherever I feared that the difficulties of the original form might check the interest of the student.

I am under much obligation to many writers, editors, and publishers, without whose generous courtesy the preparation of this book would have been impossible. Thus it is by the liberality of Mr. D. Nutt, and of Messrs. G. Putnam's Sons, and of the several editors, that I am able to print Extracts 22, 27, 31, 33, 37, and 41. Dr. Lupton and the delegates of the Clarendon Press have kindly given me permission to use Extract 62; Messrs. G. Bell and Sons, to use Extracts 90 and 93; Mr. Henry Lucy and Messrs. Cassell and Com-

pany, to use Extract 133; the Controller of her Majesty's Stationery Office, to use Extracts 20, 21, 42, 55, 60, and 68. I am indebted to Messrs. W. Blackwood and Sons, to Messrs. Dodd, Mead and Company, and to the author's representatives for warrant to print Extracts 148 and 149. To these and to many others thanks are due for full and generous permission to use material of which they hold the copyright.

To the friends who have aided me in various ways I express here my gratitude. I am especially indebted to Miss Adaline Hawes of Wellesley College and to Miss M. G. Gordon for help in the preparation of translations and versions. Above all, my thanks are due to my sister, Mrs. Francis Kendall, for assistance which alone made it possible for me to complete my task at this time.

ELIZABETH KIMBALL KENDALL.

WONALANCET, NEW HAMPSHIRE,
August 28, 1900.

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A Page from the Original Draft of Lord Chatham's "Provisional Act"	<i>Between pages 354 and 355</i>
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PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

I. THE VALUE OF SOURCE STUDY

EACH year shows advance toward a general appreciation of the value and feasibility of source study by younger as well as by older students. It is no longer thought useless, or even dangerous, to place the original text in the hands of the boy or girl just beginning the study of history.

The definite gains from a moderate and carefully directed use of sources are manifold. First and foremost is the stronger sense of reality produced by coming in direct contact with the men who helped to make history, or with those who actually witnessed the events they describe. To the average schoolboy, historic personages are heroes or bores, as the case may be, but never men. To remedy this would be a long step toward success in the teaching of history, and here the value of the original letter or description is at once apparent. What brilliant character sketch can so surely bring home to the student the fact that Warwick the King-maker was a real man, as his brief personal postscript to the formal demand for aid in 1471, "Henry, I pray you, fail not now as ever I may do for you." Or who that has read Robert Baillie's account of Strafford's trial, with its hard, unsympathetic touches, its careful detail, its homely local comparisons, can fail to see, as though on a canvas, that scene in Westminster Hall where the great minister stood at bay, fighting for his life?

Again, a deeper, a more lasting impression is secured by turning back to the original account. What words of the

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teacher, or of the text-book, can fix so indelibly in the student's mind the attitude of James I toward Puritanism and the Puritans as Barlow's relation of the Hampton Court Conference? And surely the boy who has read the letters of Charles I and of Oliver Cromwell, if asked to compare the characters of these two men, could say something more than that "Charles I was beheaded, and Oliver Cromwell died." Or who that has read Matthew Paris can ever forget what the rule of Henry III meant to England?

Still another advantage is the interest aroused through allowing the men of a bygone time to speak for themselves. The student feels that he is at the heart and beginning of things when he reads the story as told by the man who did the great deed, or at least by one who saw him do it. His interest is stimulated as it could not be by the careful account prepared in cold blood by the historian, a man of another age and of an alien temper.

A certain judicial fairness of attitude toward men and events of the past is fostered by reading the original accounts with their marked personal stamp. Where each side has a chance to tell its own story, the student is led to weigh evidence, to consider probabilities. He is forced unconsciously to abandon his prejudices, to see that right and wrong are often separated by a very narrow line, that the good are not all on one side, the bad all on the other. And as he thus studies the men of the past, striving to realize their point of view, he is fitting himself to take a sounder view of the conditions of to-day. For, as the historian Lecky has well said, "He who has learnt to understand the character and tendencies of many succeeding ages, is not likely to go very far wrong in estimating his own."

Various elaborate and suggestive discussions of this subject are now available. *The Source Book of American History*, by Albert Bushnell Hart, contains Practical Introductions of much value. Charles W. Colby's *Selections from*

the Sources of English History has a very suggestive Introduction upon the subject. One of the appendices to *The Study of History in the Schools, Report of the Committee of Seven*, published in 1899, is devoted to a discussion of the use of sources. Valuable suggestions may be gained from a leaflet on the *Use of Original Sources in the Teaching of History*, issued by the History Department of the University of Pennsylvania. The New England History Teachers' Association will publish a report upon this subject in the coming autumn.

II. USE OF A SOURCE BOOK

It is not to be expected that a volume of a few hundred pages can furnish sufficient material for historical generalization. It would seem possible, however, that it might serve as a useful adjunct to a text-book, helping to secure some of the advantages resulting from a study of the sources.

The student who has read extracts from the various kinds of original material — diaries, letters, speeches, etc. — will understand as never before what the study and writing of history actually are; he will have felt for himself the personal note, so interesting and so misleading; he will realize in a measure the difficulties of dealing with incomplete and biassed accounts. Again, the material, though insufficient for a complete study of any one topic, will serve amply to illustrate the bare statements of the text-book. What student who reads the letters of Howard, Drake, and Hawkyns in 1588 can fail to gain a lasting impression of the conditions under which the attack of the Armada was met, and of the temper of the men who saved England. •

The value of such a book may be increased by new arrangements in groups of different extracts. For example, the American student is familiar with the eighteenth century

conception of the worth of a colony. Keeping that in mind, let him read Nos. 139 and 147, the one showing the view that prevailed in the early part of this century, the other the present reaction from that view. Or let him read successively the various extracts that refer to Ireland, such as Nos. 22, 61, 111, 108, 128, 137, 132, 133. Thus studied in a group by themselves, while they will not afford a complete view of Irish history, they will at least throw a strong light upon the conditions that have prevailed from time to time.

Again, such a book may be found of use in review work. Take No. 97. Read in due course, that memorial of the Popish panic of 1679 will enable the student to realize the unreasoning terror of that time. Re-read with the side notes at a later stage of his work, it will bring home to him, not merely the frenzy of 1679, but the prevailing Catholic influence of the reign of James II, the reaction of the Revolution of 1688, the unreforming spirit of the eighteenth century, the passion for reform in the nineteenth.

III. SOURCES IN THE SCHOOL LIBRARY

BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF SOURCES

The most complete bibliography of the sources of English history is contained in Gardiner and Mullinger's *Introduction to the Study of English History*. The value of each writer is carefully estimated, and there is added a brief statement of the character of his work. Dr. Lee, of Johns Hopkins University, has in preparation a source book of English history which is provided with a very helpful bibliography. The report of the New England History Teachers' Association, to be issued this autumn, will contain a list of available sources suitable for school use. *A History of England*, by K. Coman and E. Kendall, has a brief list

of the most accessible sources, giving in each case the name of the publisher and the price.

THE MOST ACCESSIBLE SOURCES

There are various volumes of illustrative material and collections of reprints available for the use of schools. Two books containing extracts from the sources have appeared recently, *Selections from the Sources*, by Charles Colby, and *Sidelights on English History*, by Ernest Henderson. The former covers the ground from the earliest time to the middle of the present century; the scope of the latter is limited to the period from the accession of Elizabeth to the accession of Victoria. The different volumes of the series, *English History by Contemporary Writers* (general editor, F. York Powell), and a similar series in Scottish history, deal with some of the most important periods. Selected numbers of the *Translations and Reprints* issued by the History Department of the University of Pennsylvania furnish material for special aspects of English history.

Three valuable volumes of documents have been published: *Select Charters*, by W. Stubbs (Latin); *Select Statutes and Constitutional Documents*, by R. Prothero; and *Documents of the Puritan Rebellion*, by S. R. Gardiner. The source book of English history, in course of preparation by Dr. Lee, is chiefly documentary.

Pamphlets dealing with questions of the day are often of great value. *Elizabethan and Jacobean Pamphlets* and *Political Pamphlets* (both edited by George Saintsbury) give some of the most important examples of original material of this nature. *Political Pamphlets*, edited by Pollard, is a book of similar character.

The *Parliamentary History* and *Parliamentary Debates* are to be found only in the largest libraries, but the three

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volumes of *Representative British Orations*, edited by C. K. Adams, *Political Orations* (Camelot Series), and *Modern Political Orations*, edited by L. Wagner, give some of the noteworthy speeches by the most famous orators.

The *Bohn Library* contains many of the early chronicles in English translation. Froissart's *Chronicles* (Lord Berners's translation) have been edited recently by G. C. Macaulay. The *Arber English Reprints* afford much valuable material, especially for the sixteenth century. Selected numbers of *Cassell's National Library* and of the *Old South Leaflets* supply source material in a very cheap form.

Diaries, letters, memoirs, and biographies are of especial value. The less formal character and the marked personal element of this class of material render it useful in stimulating the interest of the student. A volume of the *Paston Letters*, that invaluable record of middle-class life in the fifteenth century, is published in the *Bohn Library*. There is also a complete edition in three volumes. *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, edited by T. Carlyle, are of great interest. For the Restoration there is the inimitable *Diary* of Samuel Pepys, edited by Wheatley. In the *Bohn Library* are found Asser's *Life of Alfred* and Hutchinson's *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*. The latter work has been edited recently with much care by C. H. Firth, the editor of the valuable *Ludlow Memoirs*. For the sixteenth century there are *Cardinal Wolsey*, by G. Cavendish, and William Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*. In timely recognition of the coming one thousandth anniversary of the death of Alfred two new books have appeared, *Alfred in the Chronicles*, by L. Conybeare, and *King Alfred*, by F. York Powell (*English History by Contemporary Writers*).

A source library including most of the works enumerated above may be obtained for about forty-five dollars, and will be found fairly adequate for a study of the whole course of English history.

Source-Book of
English History

CHAPTER I—BRITONS AND SAXONS

1. The British Isles in the First Century

Britain: Its boundaries, shape, and surrounding seas

THE geography and inhabitants of Britain, already described by many writers, I will speak of, not that my research and ability may be compared with theirs, but because the country was then for the first time thoroughly subdued. And so matters, which as being still not accurately known my predecessors embellished with their eloquence, shall now be related on the evidence of facts.

Britain, the largest of the islands which Roman geography includes, is so situated that it faces Germany on the east, Spain on the west; on the south it is even within sight of Gaul; its northern extremities, which have no shores opposite to them, are beaten by the waves of a vast open sea. The form of the entire country has been compared by Livy and Fabius Rusticus, the most graphic among ancient and modern historians, to an oblong shield or battle-axe. And this, no doubt, is its shape without Caledonia, so that it has become the popular description of the whole island. There is, however, a large and irregular tract of land which juts out from its furthest shores, tapering off in a wedge-like form. Round these coasts of remotest ocean the Roman fleet then for the first time sailed, ascertained that Britain is an island, and simultaneously discovered and conquered what are called the Orcades, islands hitherto unknown. Thule, too, was descried in the distance, which as yet had been hidden by the snows of winter. Those waters, they say, are sluggish, and yield with difficulty to the oar, and

By CORNELIUS TACITUS (55?-circ. 120), greatest of the Roman historians. He married a daughter of Agricola, the real conqueror of Britain. The noble biography which Tacitus wrote of his father-in-law contains some very interesting accounts of the country where Agricola's most brilliant triumphs were achieved.

Then, *i.e.* in the time of Agricola.

"It seems that Tacitus . . . believed both Spain and Germany to extend much further to the north than they actually do." Church and Brodribb.

I.e. Orkneys.

"Thule can hardly be Iceland. It is more probably Mainland, the largest of the Shetland Isles." Church and Brodribb.

are not even raised by the wind as other seas. The reason, I suppose, is that lands and mountains, which are cause and origin of storms, are here comparatively rare, and also that the vast depths of that unbroken expanse are more slowly set in motion. But to investigate the nature of the ocean and the tides is no part of the present work, and many writers have discussed the subject. I would simply add, that nowhere has the sea a wider dominion, that it has many currents running in every direction, that it does not merely flow and ebb within the limits of the shore, but penetrates and winds far inland, and finds a home among hills and mountains as though in its own domain.

Origin of the inhabitants (of Britain)

Who were the original inhabitants of Britain, whether they were indigenous or foreign, is, as usual among barbarians, little known. Their physical characteristics are various, and from these conclusions may be drawn. The red hair and large limbs of the inhabitants of Caledonia point clearly to a German origin. The dark complexion of the Silures, their usually curly hair, and the fact that Spain is the opposite shore to them, are an evidence that Iberians of a former date crossed over and occupied these parts. Those who are nearest to the Gauls are also like them, either from the permanent influence of original descent, or, because in countries which run out so far to meet each other, climate has produced similar physical qualities. But a general survey inclines me to believe that the Gauls established themselves in an island so near to them. Their religious belief may be traced in the strongly-marked British superstition. The language differs but little; there is the same boldness in challenging danger, and, when it is near, the same timidity in shrinking from it. The Britons, however, exhibit more spirit, as being a people whom a long peace has not yet

enervated. Indeed, we have understood that even the Gauls were once renowned in war ; but, after a while, sloth following on ease crept over them, and they lost their courage along with their freedom. This too has happened to the long-conquered tribes of Britain ; the rest are still what the Gauls once were.

Military customs ; climate ; products of the soil

Their strength is in infantry. Some tribes fight also with the chariot. The higher in rank is the charioteer ; the dependants fight. They were once ruled by kings, but are now divided under chieftains into factions and parties. Our greatest advantage in coping with tribes so powerful is that they do not act in concert. Seldom is it that two or three states meet together to ward off a common danger. Thus, while they fight singly, all are conquered.

Their sky is obscured by continual rain and cloud. Severity of cold is unknown. The days exceed in length those of our part of the world ; the nights are bright, and in the extreme north so short that between sunlight and dawn you can perceive but a slight distinction. It is said that, if there are no clouds in the way, the splendour of the sun can be seen throughout the night, and that he does not rise and set, but only crosses the heavens. The truth is, that the low shadow thrown from the flat extremities of the earth's surface does not raise the darkness to any height, and the night thus fails to reach the sky and stars.

With the exception of the olive and vine, and plants which usually grow in warmer climates, the soil will yield, and even abundantly, all ordinary produce. It ripens indeed slowly, but is of rapid growth, the cause in each case being the same, namely, the excessive moisture of the soil and of the atmosphere. Britain contains gold and silver and other metals, as the prize of conquest. . . .

Roman Governors of Britain

The Britons themselves bear cheerfully the conscription, the taxes, and the other burdens imposed on them by the Empire, if there be no oppression. Of this they are impatient; they are reduced to subjection, not as yet to slavery. The deified Julius, the very first Roman who entered Britain with an army, though by a successful engagement he struck terror into the inhabitants and gained possession of the coast, must be regarded as having indicated rather than transmitted the acquisition to future generations. Then came the civil wars, and the arms of our leaders were turned against their country, and even when there was peace, there was a long neglect of Britain. This Augustus spoke of as policy, Tiberius as an inherited maxim. That Caius Cæsar meditated an invasion of Britain is perfectly clear, but his purposes, rapidly formed, were easily changed, and his vast attempts on Germany had failed. Claudius was the first to renew the attempt, and conveyed over into the island some legions and auxiliaries, choosing Vespasian to share with him the campaign, whose approaching elevation had this beginning. Several tribes were subdued and kings made prisoners, and destiny learnt to know its favourite. . . .

Tacitus, *The Life of Agricola* (translated by A. Church and W. Brodribb, London, 1877), Chs. X-XIII.

Julius Cæsar
invaded
Britain 55-54
B.C.

"Vespasian's
successful
career in
Britain com-
mended him,
so to speak,
to destiny, as
one worthy of
high distinc-
tion."
Church and
Brodribb.

2. The Early Germans

Physical characteristics

For my own part, I agree with those who think that the tribes of Germany are free from all taint of intermarriages with foreign nations, and that they appear as a distinct, unmixed race, like none but themselves. Hence, too, the

By COR-
NELIUS
TACITUS.
See No. I.
It is doubtful
that Tacitus
ever visited
Germany,
and in any
case his
description

same physical peculiarities throughout so vast a population. All have fierce blue eyes, red hair, huge frames, fit only for a sudden exertion. They are less able to bear laborious work. Heat and thirst they cannot in the least endure ; to cold and hunger their climate and their soil inure them. . . .

must be regarded as applying to those parts of the country best known to the Romans, and to the most advanced tribes ; but it may be accepted as substantially true, affording " a general view of the ideal of the Teutonic system."

Arms, military manœuvres, and discipline

. . . But few use swords or long lances. They carry a spear (*framea* is their name for it), with a narrow and short head, but so sharp and easy to wield that the same weapon serves, according to circumstances, for close or distant conflict. As for the horse-soldier, he is satisfied with a shield and spear ; the foot-soldiers also scatter showers of missiles, each man having several and hurling them to an immense distance, and being naked or lightly clad with a little cloak. There is no display about their equipment : their shields alone are marked with very choice colours. A few only have corslets, and just one or two here and there a metal or leathern helmet. Their horses are remarkable neither for beauty nor for fleetness. Nor are they taught various evolutions after our fashion, but are driven straight forward, or so as to make one wheel to the right in such a compact body that none is left behind another. On the whole, one would say that their chief strength is in their infantry, which fights along with the cavalry ; admirably adapted to the action of the latter is the swiftness of certain foot-soldiers, who are picked from the entire youth of their country, and stationed in front of the line. Their number is fixed, — a hundred from each canton ; and from this they take their name among their countrymen, so that what was originally a mere number has now become a title of distinction. Their line of battle is drawn up in a wedge-like formation. To give ground, provided you return to the attack, is considered prudence rather than cowardice. The bodies of

their slain they carry off, even in indecisive engagements. To abandon your shield is the basest of crimes ; nor may a man thus disgraced be present at the sacred rites, or enter their council ; many, indeed, after escaping from battle, have ended their infamy with the halter.

Government. Influence of women

Many of the
German
tribes had no
kings.

They choose their kings by birth, their generals for merit. These kings have not unlimited or arbitrary power, and the generals do more by example than by authority. If they are energetic, if they are conspicuous, if they fight in the front, they lead because they are admired. But to reprimand, to imprison, even to flog, is permitted to the priests alone, and that not as a punishment, or at the general's bidding, but, as it were, by the mandate of the god, whom they believe to inspire the warrior. They also carry with them into battle certain figures and images taken from their sacred groves. And what most stimulates their courage is, that their squadrons or battalions, instead of being formed by chance or by a fortuitous gathering, are composed of families and clans. Close by them, too, are those dearest to them, so that they hear the shrieks of women, the cries of infants. *They* are to every man the most sacred witnesses of his bravery — *they* are his most generous applauders. The soldier brings his wounds to mother and wife, who shrink not from counting or even demanding them, and who administer both food and encouragement to the combatants. . . .

Councils

About minor matters the chiefs deliberate, about the more important the whole tribe. Yet even when the final decision rests with the people, the affair is always thoroughly discussed by the chiefs. They assemble, except in the case of

a sudden emergency, on certain fixed days, either at new or at full moon; for this they consider the most auspicious season for the transaction of business. Instead of reckoning by days as we do, they reckon by nights, and in this manner fix both their ordinary and their legal appointments. Night they regard as bringing on day. Their freedom has this disadvantage, that they do not meet simultaneously or as they are bidden, but two or three days are wasted in the delays of assembling. When the multitude think proper, they sit down armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who have on these occasions the right of keeping order. Then the king or the chief, according to age, birth, distinction in war, or eloquence, is heard, more because he has influence to persuade than because he has power to command. If his sentiments displease them, they reject them with murmurs; if they are satisfied, they brandish their spears. The most complimentary form of assent is to express approbation with their weapons. . . .

By the clash of shield and spear.

Training of the youth

They transact no public or private business without being armed. It is not, however, usual for any one to wear arms till the state has recognised his power to use them. Then in the presence of the council one of the chiefs, or the young man's father, or some kinsman, equips him with a shield and a spear. These arms are what the "toga" is with us, the first honour with which youth is invested. Up to this time he is regarded as a member of a household, afterwards as a member of the commonwealth. Very noble birth or great services rendered by the father secure for lads the rank of a chief; such lads attach themselves to men of mature strength and of long-approved valour. It is no shame to be seen among a chief's followers. Even in his escort there are gradations of rank, dependent on the

The marked military spirit of the Germans at this time was perhaps the result of the continuous struggle with the Romans.

choice of the man to whom they are attached. These followers vie keenly with each other as to who shall rank first with his chief, the chiefs as to who shall have the most numerous and the bravest followers. It is an honour as well as a source of strength to be thus always surrounded by a large body of picked youths; it is an ornament in peace, and a defence in war. And not only in his own tribe but also in the neighbouring states it is the renown and glory of a chief to be distinguished for the number and valour of his followers, for such a man is courted by embassies, is honoured with presents, and the very prestige of his name often settles a war.

Warlike ardour of the people

When they go into battle, it is a disgrace for the chief to be surpassed in valour, a disgrace for his followers not to equal the valour of the chief. And it is an infamy and a reproach for life to have survived the chief, and returned from the field. To defend, to protect him, to ascribe one's own brave deeds to his renown, is the height of loyalty. The chief fights for victory; his vassals fight for their chief. If their native state sinks into the sloth of prolonged peace and repose, many of its noble youths voluntarily seek those tribes which are waging some war, both because inaction is odious to their race, and because they win renown more readily in the midst of peril, and cannot maintain a numerous following except by violence and war. Indeed, men look to the liberality of their chief for their war-horse and their blood-stained and victorious lance. Feasts and entertainments, which, though inelegant, are plentifully furnished, are their only pay. The means of this bounty come from war and rapine. Nor are they as easily persuaded to plough the earth and to wait for the year's produce as to challenge an enemy and earn the honour of wounds. Nay,

they actually think it tame and stupid to acquire by the sweat of toil what they might win by their blood.

Habits in time of peace

Whenever they are not fighting, they pass much of their time in the chase, and still more in idleness, giving themselves up to sleep and to feasting, the bravest and the most warlike doing nothing, and surrendering the management of the household, of the home, and of the land, to the women, the old men, and all the weakest members of the family. They themselves lie buried in sloth, a strange combination in their nature that the same men should be so fond of idleness, so averse to peace. It is the custom of the states to bestow by voluntary and individual contribution on the chiefs a present of cattle or of grain, which, while accepted as a compliment, supplies their wants. They are particularly delighted by gifts from neighbouring tribes, which are sent not only by individuals but also by the state, such as choice steeds, heavy armour, trappings, and neckchains. We have now taught them to accept money also.

Compare
with the
North
American
Indian.

Arrangement of their towns

It is well known that the nations of Germany have no cities, and that they do not even tolerate closely contiguous dwellings. They live scattered and apart, just as a spring, a meadow, or a wood has attracted them. Their villages they do not arrange in our fashion, with the buildings connected and joined together, but every person surrounds his dwelling with an open space, either as a precaution against the disasters of fire, or because they do not know how to build. No use is made by them of stone or tile ; they employ timber for all purposes, rude masses without ornament

or attractiveness. Some parts of their buildings they stain more carefully with a clay so clear and bright that it resembles painting, or a coloured design. . . .

Hereditary feuds. Fines for homicide. Hospitality

See No. 6.

It is a duty among them to adopt the feuds as well as the friendships of a father or a kinsman. These feuds are not implacable ; even homicide is expiated by the payment of a certain number of cattle and of sheep, and the satisfaction is accepted by the entire family, greatly to the advantage of the state, since feuds are dangerous in proportion to a people's freedom.

No nation indulges more profusely in entertainments and hospitality. To exclude any human being from their roof is thought impious ; every German, according to his means, receives his guest with a well-furnished table. When his supplies are exhausted, he who was but now the host becomes the guide and companion to further hospitality, and without invitation they go to the next house. It matters not ; they are entertained with like cordiality. . . .

Food

A liquor for drinking is made out of barley or other grain, and fermented into a certain resemblance to wine. The dwellers on the river-bank also buy wine. Their food is of a simple kind, consisting of wild-fruit, fresh game, and curdled milk. They satisfy their hunger without elaborate preparation, and without delicacies. In quenching their thirst they are not equally moderate. If you indulge their love of drinking by supplying them with as much as they desire, they will be overcome by their own vices as easily as by the arms of an enemy.

Sports. Passion for gambling

One and the same kind of spectacle is always exhibited at every gathering. Naked youths who practise the sport bound in the dance amid swords and lances that threaten their lives. Experience gives them skill, and skill again gives grace ; profit or pay are out of the question ; however reckless their pastime, its reward is the pleasure of the spectators. Strangely enough they make games of hazard a serious occupation even when sober, and so venturesome are they about gaining or losing, that, when every other resource has failed, on the last and final throw, they stake the freedom of their own persons. The loser goes into voluntary slavery ; though the younger and stronger, he suffers himself to be bound and sold. Such is their stubborn persistency in a bad practice ; they themselves call it honour. Slaves of this kind the owners part with in the way of commerce, and also to relieve themselves from the scandal of such a victory. . . .

Occupation of Land. Tillage

. . . Land proportioned to the number of inhabitants is occupied by the whole community in turn, and afterwards divided among them according to rank. A wide expanse of plains makes the partition easy. They till fresh fields every year, and they have still more land than enough ; with the richness and extent of their soil, they do not laboriously exert themselves in planting orchards, inclosing meadows, and watering gardens. Corn is the only produce required from the earth ; hence even the year itself is not divided by them into as many seasons as with us. Winter, spring, and summer have both a meaning and a name ; the name and blessings of autumn are alike unknown.

Cornelius Tacitus, *Germania* (translated by Church and Brodribb, London, 1877), Chs. IV, VI, VII, XI, XVI, XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI.

3. The Coming of the Angles and Saxons (circ. 450)

By BÆDA, the "VENERABLE BEDE" (673-735), a native of Bernicia, who was trained for the church, and spent most of his life in the Benedictine abbey of Jarrow on the Tyne, where he died. Later his bones were removed to the Cathedral of Durham, and a shrine was erected to his memory. Both shrine and relics were destroyed in the reign of Henry VIII. Bede's life was spent in the service of the church and of literature. His great work, the *Ecclesiastical History*, covers the period from the coming of Cæsar to 731. It is in nowise confined to church matters, and for the later years, especially from 633, it forms our best authority. As a historian

In the year of our Lord 449, Martian being made emperor with Valentinian, and the forty-sixth from Augustus, ruled the empire seven years. Then the nation of the Angles, or Saxons, being invited by the aforesaid king, arrived in Britain with three long ships, and had a place assigned them to reside in by the same king, in the eastern part of the island, that they might thus appear to be fighting for their country, whilst their real intentions were to enslave it. Accordingly they engaged with the enemy, who were come from the north to give battle, and obtained the victory; which, being known at home in their own country, as also the fertility of the country, and the cowardice of the Britons, a more considerable fleet was quickly sent over, bringing a still greater number of men, which, being added to the former, made up an invincible army. The new comers received of the Britons a place to inhabit, upon condition that they should wage war against their enemies for the peace and security of the country, whilst the Britons agreed to furnish them with pay. Those who came over were of the three powerful nations of Germany, — Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent, and of the Isle of Wight, and those also in the province of the West-Saxons who are to this day called Jutes, seated opposite to the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is, the country which is now called Old Saxony, came the East-Saxons, the South-Saxons, and the West-Saxons. From the Angles, that is, the country which is called Anglia, and which is said, from that time, to remain desert to this day, between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons, are descended the East-Angles, the Midland-Angles, Mercians, all the race of the Northumbrians, that is, of those nations that dwell on the north side

of the river Humber, and the other nations of the English. . . . In a short time, swarms of the aforesaid nations came over into the island, and they began to increase so much that they became terrible to the natives themselves who had invited them. Then, having on a sudden entered into league with the Picts, whom they had by this time repelled by the force of their arms, they began to turn their weapons against their confederates. At first, they obliged them to furnish a greater quantity of provisions ; and, seeking an occasion to quarrel, protested, that unless more plentiful supplies were brought them, they would break the confederacy, and ravage all the island ; nor were they backward in putting their threats in execution. In short, the fire kindled by the hands of these pagans proved God's just revenge for the crimes of the people ; . . . For the barbarous conquerors acting here in the same manner, or rather the just Judge ordaining that they should so act, they plundered all the neighbouring cities and country, spread the conflagration from the eastern to the western sea, without any opposition, and covered almost every part of the devoted island. Public as well as private structures were overturned ; the priests were everywhere slain before the altars ; the prelates and the people, without any respect of persons, were destroyed with fire and sword ; nor was there any to bury those who had been thus cruelly slaughtered. Some of the miserable remainder, being taken in the mountains, were butchered in heaps. Others, spent with hunger, came forth and submitted themselves to the enemy for food, being destined to undergo perpetual servitude, if they were not killed even upon the spot. Some, with sorrowful hearts, fled beyond the seas. Others, continuing in their own country, led a miserable life among the woods, rocks, and mountains, with scarcely enough food to support life, and expecting every moment to be their last.

Bede is marked by candour and intelligence. — On the Saxon Conquest, see J. R. Green, *The Making of England*.

"Aforesaid king" = *Vortigern*.

By BÆDA.
See No. 3.
This extract
is taken from
the second
book of the
Ecclesiastical History,
and describes
events near
to Bede's own
time. His
information
may have
been derived
from those
having a per-
sonal know-
ledge of the
facts.

"These
words" = the
Christian
preaching of
Paulinus.

Paulinus was
the chaplain
of the wife
of Edwin, a
Christian
princess of
Kent.

4. Conversion of Edwin, King of the Northumbrians (circ. 625)

The king, hearing these words, answered, that he was both willing and bound to receive the faith which he taught ; but that he would confer about it with his principal friends and counsellors, to the end that if they also were of his opinion, they might all together be cleansed in Christ the Fountain of Life. Paulinus consenting, the king did as he said ; for, holding a council with the wise men, he asked of every one in particular what he thought of the new doctrine, and the new worship that was preached? To which the chief of his own priests, Coifi, immediately answered : " O king, consider what this is which is now preached to us ; for I verily declare to you, that the religion which we have hitherto professed has, as far as I can learn, no virtue in it. For none of your people has applied himself more diligently to the worship of our gods than I ; and yet there are many who receive greater favours from you, and are more preferred than I, and are more prosperous in all their undertakings. Now if the gods were good for anything, they would rather forward me, who have been more careful to serve them. It remains, therefore, that if upon examination you find those new doctrines, which are now preached to us, better and more efficacious, we immediately receive them without any delay."

Another of the king's chief men, approving of his words and exhortations, presently added ; " The present life of man, O king, seems to me, in comparison of that time which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your commanders and ministers, and a good fire in the midst, whilst the storms of rain and snow prevail abroad ; the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door, and immediately out at

another, whilst he is within, is safe from the wintry storm ; but after a short space of fair weather, he immediately vanishes out of your sight, into the dark winter from which he had emerged. So this life of man appears for a short space, but of what went before, or what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant. If, therefore, this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed." The other elders and king's counsellors, by Divine inspiration, spoke to the same effect.

But Coifi added, that he wished more attentively to hear Paulinus discourse concerning the God whom he preached ; which he having by the king's command performed, Coifi, hearing his words, cried out : " I have long since been sensible that there was nothing in that which we worshipped ; because the more diligently I sought after truth in that worship, the less I found it. But now I freely confess, that such truth evidently appears in this preaching as can confer on us the gifts of life, of salvation, and of eternal happiness. For which reason I advise, O king, that we instantly abjure and set fire to those temples and altars which we have consecrated without reaping any benefit from them." In short, the king publicly gave his license to Paulinus to preach the Gospel, and renouncing idolatry, declared that he received the faith of Christ : and when he inquired of the high priest who should first profane the altars and temples of their idols, with the enclosures that were about them, he answered, " I ; for who can more properly than myself destroy those things which I worshipped through ignorance, for an example to all others, through the wisdom which has been given me by the true God?" Then immediately, in contempt of his former superstitions, he desired the king to furnish him with arms and a stallion ; and mounting the same, he set out to destroy the idols ; for it was not lawful before for the high priest either to carry arms, or to ride on any but a mare. Having, therefore, girt a sword about him, with a spear in

Paulinus became Bishop of York and won the Deirans to Christianity.

his hand, he mounted the king's stallion and proceeded to the idols. The multitude, beholding it, concluded he was distracted ; but he lost no time, for as soon as he drew near the temple he profaned the same, casting into it the spear which he held ; and rejoicing in the knowledge of the worship of the true God, he commanded his companions to destroy the temple, with all its enclosures, by fire. This place where the idols were is still shown, not far from York, to the eastward, beyond the river Derwent, and is now called Godmundingham, where the high priest, by the inspiration of the true God, profaned and destroyed the altars which he had himself consecrated.

" The home of the protection of the gods."

Bæda, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (translated by J. A. Giles, London, 1847), Book II, Ch. XIII.

This treaty between Charles the Great or Charlemagne (†814) and Offa, the greatest of the Mercian kings (†796), is of interest as showing the character of the intercourse between England and the Continent. Compare No. 12.

5. Treaty between Charles the Great and Offa (circ. 795)

" Charles, by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards, and patrician of the Romans, to his esteemed and dearest brother Offa king of the Mercians, sendeth health :

First, we give thanks to God Almighty for the purity of the Catholic faith, which we find laudably expressed in your letters. Concerning pilgrims, who for the love of God or the salvation of their souls, wish to visit the residence of the holy apostles, let them go peaceably without any molestation ; but if persons, not seeking the cause of religion, but that of gain, be found amongst them, let them pay the customary tolls in proper places. We will, too, that traders have due protection within our kingdom, according to our mandate, and if in any place they suffer wrongful oppression,

let them appeal to us or to our judges, and we will see full justice done. . . .”

William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle* (translated by J. A. Giles, London, 1847), 85.

6. Alfred's Dooms

16. If any one smite his neighbour with a stone or with his fist, and he nevertheless can go out with a staff; let him get him a leech, and work his work the while that himself may not.

21. If an ox gore a man or a woman, so that they die, let it be stoned, and let not its flesh be eaten. The lord shall not be liable, if the ox were wont to push with its horns for two or three days before, and the lord knew it not; but if he knew it, and he would not shut it in, and it then shall have slain a man or a woman, let it be stoned; and let the lord be slain, or the man be paid for, as the ‘witan’ decree to be right. If it gore a son or a daughter, let him be subject to the like judgment. But if it gore a ‘theow’ or a ‘theowmennen,’ let XXX shillings of silver be given to the lord, and let the ox be stoned.

34. Injure ye not the widows and the step-children, nor hurt them anywhere: for if ye do otherwise, they will cry unto me, and I will hear them, and I will then slay you with my sword; and I will so do that your wives shall be widows, and your children shall be step-children.

35. If thou give money in loan to thy fellow who willeth to dwell with thee, urge thou him not as a ‘niedling,’ and oppress him not with the increase.

36. If a man have only a single garment wherewith to cover himself, or to wear, and he give it [to thee] in pledge; let it be returned before sunset. If thou dost not so, then

The accompanying extract is from the laws of ALFRED THE GREAT (849-901?). The laws of primitive peoples are generally handed down by custom and oral tradition, and the earliest written laws are merely amendments of still earlier unwritten customs or attempts to put into systematic form the established usage of the community. During the brief intervals of peace in his troubled reign Alfred drew up a code of English law based on ancient custom and the laws of some of his predecessors.

Doom = law, decree.

Theow =
slave.

Theow-men-
nen = bond-
woman.

Niedling =
worthless
person.

shall he call unto me, and I will hear him ; for I am very merciful.

43. Judge thou very evenly : judge thou not one doom to the rich, another to the poor ; nor one to thy friend, another to thy foe, judge thou.

I, then, Alfred, king, gathered these together, and commanded many of those to be written which our forefathers held, those which to me seemed good ; and many of those which seemed to me not good I rejected them, by the counsel of my 'witan,' and in otherwise commanded them to be holden ; for I durst not venture to set down in writing much of my own, for it was unknown to me what of it would please those who should come after us. But those things which I met with, either of the days of Ine my kinsman, or of Offa king of the Mercians, or of Æthelbryht, who first among the English race received baptism, those which seemed to me the rightest, those I have here gathered together, and rejected the others.

I, then, Alfred, king of the West-Saxons, shewed these to all my 'witan,' and they then said that it seemed good to them all to be holden.

In Case a Man fight in the King's Hall

Wer-gild =
payment for
slaying a
man.

Bot = com-
pensation to
the injured.

Wer = "The
pecuniary
estimation of
a man by
which the
value of his
oath and the
payment for
his death
were deter-
mined."
Stubbs.

7. If any one fight in the king's hall, or draw his weapon, and he be taken ; be it in the king's doom, either death, or life, as he may be willing to grant him. If he escape, and be taken again, let him pay for himself according to his 'wer-gild,' and make 'bōt' for the offence, as well 'wēr' as 'wite,' according as he may have wrought.

Of those Men who fight before a Bishop

15. If a man fight before an archbishop or draw his weapon, let him make 'bōt' with one hundred and fifty shillings. If before another bishop or an ealdorman this happen, let him make 'bōt' with one hundred shillings.

Of Kinless Men

27. If a man, kinless of paternal relatives, fight, and slay a man, and then if he have maternal relatives, let them pay a third of the 'wēr'; his guild-brethren a third part; for a third let him flee. If he have no maternal relatives, let his guild-brethren pay half, for half let him flee.

Of Feuds

42. We also command: that the man who knows his foe to be home-sitting fight not before he demand justice of him. If he have such power that he can beset his foe, and besiege him within, let him keep him within for VII. days, and attack him not, if he will remain within. And then, after VII. days, if he will surrender, and deliver up his weapons, let him be kept safe for XXX. days, and let notice of him be given to his kinsmen and his friends. If, however, he flee to a church, then let it be according to the sanctity of the church; as we have before said above. But if he have not sufficient power to besiege him within, let him ride to the 'ealdorman,' and beg aid of him. If he will not aid him, let him ride to the king before he fights. In like manner also, if a man come upon his foe, and he did not before know him to be home-staying; if he be willing to deliver up his weapons, let him be kept for XXX. days, and let notice of him be given to his friends; if he will not deliver up his weapons, then he may attack him. If he be willing to surrender, and to deliver up his weapons, and any one after that attack him, let him pay as well 'wēr' as wound, as he may do, and 'wite,' and let him have forfeited his 'mæg'-ship. We also declare, that with his lord a man may fight 'orwige,' if any one attack the lord: thus may the lord fight for his man. After the same wise, a man may fight with his born kinsman, if a man attack him wrongfully, except against his lord; that we do not allow.

Wite = a fine as a punishment.

Feud = private warfare. "Right of feud . . . lies at the root of all Teutonic legislation."

Kemble. Cf. No. 2.

From an early date this right was limited by the establishment of a tariff of rates for injuries to be accepted in lieu of blood atonement. But in case this compensation was refused, the right of exacting a life for a life or a limb for a limb revived, as expressed in the Saxon proverb, "Buy off the spear or bear it."

= Probably "let him forfeit all claim to the assistance of his kinsmen."

Orwige = without incurring the guilt of making war.

Of striking off an Ear

46. If his other ear be struck off, let XXX. shillings be given as 'bōt.' If the hearing be impaired, so that he cannot hear, let LX. shillings be given as 'bōt.'

Of a Man's Eye-wound and of Various Other Limbs

47. If a man strike out another's eye, let him pay LX. shillings, and VI. shillings, and VI. pennies and a third part of a penny, as 'bōt.' If it remain in the head, and he cannot see aught therewith, let one-third part of the 'bōt' be retained.

49. If a man strike out another's tooth in the front of his head, let him make 'bōt' for it with VIII. shillings; if it be the canine tooth, let IV. shillings be paid as 'bōt.' A man's grinder is worth XV. shillings.

57. If the shooting [*i.e.* fore] finger be struck off, the 'bōt' is XV. shillings; for its nail it is IV. shillings.

69. If a man maim another's hand outwardly, let XX. shillings be paid him as 'bōt,' if he can be healed; if it half fly off, then shall be XL. shillings as 'bōt.'

Ancient Laws and Institutes of England (edited by Benjamin Thorpe, London, 1840), 20-44.

CHAPTER II—ENGLAND AND THE DANES

7. Alfred and the Danes (871–878)

THE same year (871), the aforesaid Alfred, who had been up to that time only of secondary rank, whilst his brothers were alive, now, by God's permission, undertook the government of the whole kingdom, amid the acclamations of all the people; and if he had chosen, he might have done so before, whilst his brother above-named was still alive; for in wisdom and other qualities he surpassed all his brothers, and, moreover, was warlike and victorious in all his wars. And when he had reigned one month, almost against his will, for he did not think he could alone sustain the multitude and ferocity of the pagans, though even during his brothers' lives, he had borne the woes of many, — he fought a battle with a few men, and on very unequal terms, against all the army of the pagans, at a hill called Wilton, on the south bank of the river Wily, from which river the whole of that district is named, and after a long and fierce engagement, the pagans, seeing the danger they were in, and no longer able to bear the attack of their enemies, turned their backs and fled. But, oh, shame to say, they deceived their too audacious pursuers, and again rallying, gained the victory. Let no one be surprised that the Christians had but a small number of men, for the Saxons had been worn out by eight battles in one year, against the pagans, of whom they had slain one king, nine dukes, and innumerable troops of soldiers, besides endless skirmishes, both by night and by day, in which the oft-named Alfred,

Ascribed to ASSER (†910?), a monk of Celtic origin, connected with the monastery of St. David's. He was the adviser and friend of Alfred in his effort to revive learning. The following extract is taken from the *Life of Alfred* of which Asser is held to be the author. This work contains many interesting facts concerning the great Saxon king.

"His brother above-named" = Ethelred.

"pagans" = Danes. The Saxon Chronicle speaks of "the army."

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and all his chieftains, with their men, and several of his ministers, were engaged without rest or cessation against the pagans. How many thousand pagans fell in these numberless skirmishes God alone knows, over and above those who were slain in the eight battles above-mentioned. In the same year the Saxons made peace with the pagans, on condition that they should take their departure, and they did so. . . .

In the year 877, the pagans, on the approach of autumn, partly settled in Exeter, and partly marched for plunder into Mercia. The number of that disorderly crew increased every day, so that, if thirty thousand of them were slain in one battle, others took their places to double the number. Then King Alfred commanded boats and galleys, *i.e.* long ships, to be built throughout the kingdom, in order to offer battle by sea to the enemy as they were coming. On board of these he placed seamen, and appointed them to watch the seas. Meanwhile he went himself to Exeter, where the pagans were wintering, and having shut them up within the walls, laid siege to the town. He also gave orders to his sailors to prevent them from obtaining any supplies by sea; and his sailors were encountered by a fleet of a hundred and twenty ships full of armed soldiers, who were come to help their countrymen. As soon as the king's men knew that they were fitted with pagan soldiers, they leaped to their arms, and bravely attacked those barbaric tribes; but the pagans who had now for almost a month been tossed and almost wrecked among the waves of the sea, fought vainly against them; their bands were discomfited in a moment, and all were sunk and drowned in the sea, at a place called Swanewic. . . .

Swanwich in
Dorsetshire.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation 878, which was the thirtieth of king Alfred's life, the army above-mentioned left Exeter, and went to Chippenham, a royal villa, situated in the west of Wiltshire, and on the eastern bank of the

river, which is called in British, the Avon. There they wintered, and drove many of the inhabitants of that country beyond the sea by the force of their arms, and by want of the necessaries of life. They reduced almost entirely to subjection all the people of that country. . . .

The same year, after Easter, king Alfred, with a few followers, made for himself a stronghold in a place called Athelney, and from thence sallied with his vassals and the nobles of Somersetshire, to make frequent assaults upon the pagans. Also, in the seventh week after Easter, he rode to the stone of Egbert, which is in the eastern part of the wood which is called Selwood. . . . Here he was met by all the neighbouring folk of Somersetshire, and Wiltshire, and Hampshire, who had not, for fear of the pagans, fled beyond the sea; and when they saw the king alive after such great tribulation, they received him, as he deserved, with joy and acclamations, and encamped there for one night. When the following day dawned, the king struck his camp, and went to Okely, where he encamped for one night. The next morning he removed to Edington, and there fought, bravely and perseveringly against all the army of the pagans, whom, with the divine help he defeated with great slaughter, and pursued them flying to their fortification. Immediately he slew all the men, and carried off all the booty that he could find without the fortress, which he immediately laid siege to with all his army; and when he had been there fourteen days, the pagans, driven by famine, cold, fear, and last of all by despair, asked for peace, on the condition that they should give the king as many hostages as he pleased, but should receive none of him in return, in which form they had never before made a treaty with any one. The king, hearing that, took pity upon them, and received such hostages as he chose; after which the pagans swore, moreover, that they would immediately leave the kingdom; and their king, Gothrun, promised to embrace Christianity, and re-

Now Brixton
Deverill in
Wilts.

Probably
Westbury in
Wilts.

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Compare throughout with the account in the Saxon Chronicle.

ceive baptism at king Alfred's hands. All of which articles he and his men fulfilled as they had promised.

Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi Magni* (translated by J. A. Giles, London, 1848), 56-63.

8. The Battle of Brunanburh (937)

From the
SAXON
CHRONICLE.

See No. 11.
At the time
Athelstan's
victory over
the allied
Scots, Welsh,
and Danes
was looked
upon as the
hardest fight
the English
had ever won,
and it was
commemo-
rated in
several songs.
The war-
ballad of
Brunanburh
found in the
Chronicle is
one of the
oldest and
noblest of
national lays.
Cf. Lord
Tennyson's
translation.

Board-walls
= shield-
wall.

War-lindens
= shields of
linden wood.

Dæniede =
flowed.

Here Athelstan, king,
of earls the lord,
of heroes the bracelet-giver,
and his brother eke,
Edmund etheling,
life-long-glory
in battle won
with edges of swords
near Brumby.

The board-walls they clove,
they hewed the war-lindens,

Hamora lafan'
offspring of Edward,
such was their noble nature
from their ancestors,
that they in battle oft
'gainst every foe
the land defended,
hoards and homes.

The foe they crushed,
the Scottish people
and the shipmen
fated fell.

The field 'dæniede'
with warriors' blood,
since the sun up

at morning-tide,
 mighty planet,
 glided o'er grounds,
 God's candle bright,
 the eternal Lord's,
 till the noble creature
 sank to her settle.
 There lay many a warrior,
 by javelins strewed,
 northern man
 over shield shot ;
 so the Scots eke,
 weary, war-sad.
 West-Saxons onwards
 throughout the day,
 in bands,
 pursued the footsteps
 of the loathed nations.
 They hewed the fugitives
 behind, amain
 with swords mill-sharp
 Mercians refused not
 the hard hand-play
 to any heroes
 who with Anlaf,
 over the ocean,
 in the ship's bosom,
 this land sought
 fated to the fight.
 Five lay
 on the battle-stead,
 youthful kings,
 by swords in slumber laid :
 so seven eke
 of Anlaf's earls ;

Sharp from
the grind-
stone.

Anlaf or Olaf,
King of the
Northmen in
Ireland.

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of the army countless,
shipmen and Scots.
There was made flee
the North-men's chieftain
by need constrained,
to the ship's prow
with a little band.
The bark drove afloat :
the king departed
on the fallow flood,
his life preserved.
So there eke the sage
came by flight
to his country north,
Constantine,
hoary warrior,
He had no cause to exult
in the communion of swords.
Here was his kindred band
of friends o'erthrown
on the folk-stead,
in battle slain ;
and his son he left
on the slaughter-place,
mangled with wounds,
young in the fight :
he had no cause to boast,
hero grizzly-haired,
of the bill-clashing,
the old deceiver ;
nor Anlaf the moor,
with the remnant of their armies ;
they had no cause to laugh
that they in war's works
the better men were

King of the
Scots.

in the battle-stead
at the conflict of banners
meeting of spears,
concourse of men,
traffic of weapons ;
that they on the slaughter-field
with Edward's
offspring played.

The North-men departed
in their nailed barks ;
bloody relic of darts,
on roaring ocean
o'er the deep water
Dublin to seek,
again Ireland,
shamed in mind.

So too the brothers,
both together
king and etheling,
their country sought,
West-Saxons' land,
in the war exulting.
They left behind them,
the corse to devour,
the sallowy kite
and the swarthy raven
with horned nib,
and the dusky ' pada,'
erne white-tailed,
the corse to enjoy,
greedy war-hawk
and the grey beast,
wolf of the wood.

Carnage greater has not been
in this island

Athelstan
and Edmund.

I.e. dusky
one.
erne = eagle.

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ever yet
of people slain,
before this,
by edges of swords,
as books us say,
old writers,
since from the east hither,
Angles and Saxons
came to land,
o'er the broad seas
Britain sought,
mighty war-smiths,
the Welsh o'ercame,
earls most bold,
this earth obtained.

The *Saxon Chronicle* (translated by J. A. Giles, London, 1847),
375-377.

The accompanying document is entitled the "*Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*," or "*The Services due from Various Persons*."

The Saxon version dates probably from the tenth century, and the Latin from the twelfth. It gives a description of the services due from the thane to the

9. Dues and Services from the Land in the Tenth Century

Thane's Law

The thane's law is that he be worthy of his boc-rights, and that he do three things for his land, fyrd-færeld, burh-bot, and brig-bot. Also from many lands more land-services are due at the king's bann, as deer-hedging at the king's ham, and apparel for the guard, and sea-ward and head-ward and fyrd-ward and almsfee and kirkshot, and many other various things.

Geneat's Services

The geneat's services are various as on the land is fixed. On some he shall pay land-gafol and grass-swine yearly, and

ride, and carry, and lead loads ; work and support his lord, and reap and mow, cut deer-hedge and keep it up, build, and hedge the burh, make new roads for the tun : pay kirk-shot and almsfee : keep head-ward and horse-ward : go errands far or near wherever he is directed.

king, and of those which the various classes that sat upon the land owed their lord.

The three duties of the thane were to accompany the king to war, help build his castles, and keep up the bridges.

Geneat, Latin *villanus*, or villain.

Gafol = tribute.

Cottier = a class of geneats with small holdings.

Inland = demesne or land reserved by the lord to his own use.

Gebur = Villain proper, having a holding of about thirty acres.

Bene-work = special work.

Cottier's Services

The cottier's services are what on the land is fixed. On some he shall each Monday in the year work for his lord, and three days a week in harvest. He ought not to pay land-gafol. He ought to have five acres in his holding, more if it be the custom on the land, and too little it is if it be less : because his work is often required. He pays hearth-penny on Holy Thursday, as pertains to every free-man, and defends his lord's inland, if he is required, from sea-ward and from king's deer-hedge, and from such things as befit his degree. And he pays his kirkshot at Martinmas.

Gebur's Services

The Gebur's services are various, in some places heavy, in others moderate. On some land he must work at week-work two days at such work as he is required through the year every week, and at harvest three days for week-work, and from Candlemas to Easter three. If he do carrying he has not to work while his horse is out. He shall pay on Michaelmas Day x. gafol-pence, and on Martinmas Day xxiii. sesters of barley and two hens ; at Easter a young sheep or two pence ; and he shall lie from Martinmas to Easter at his lord's fold as often as he is told. And from the time that they first plough to Martinmas he shall each week plough one acre, and prepare himself the seed in his lord's barn. Also iii. acres bene-work, and ii. to grass-yrth. If he needs more grass then he ploughs for it as he

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is allowed. For his gafol-yrth he ploughs iii. acres, and sows it from his own barn. And he pays his hearth-penny. Two and two feed one hound, and each gebur gives vi. loaves to the swineherd when he drives his herd to mast. On that land where this custom holds it pertains to the gebur that he shall have given to him for his outfit ii. oxen and i. cow and vi. sheep, and vii. acres sown on his yard-land. Wherefore after that year he must perform all services which pertain to him. And he must have given to him tools for his work, and utensils for his house. Then when he dies his lord takes back what he leaves.

This land-law holds on some lands, but here and there, as I have said, it is heavier or lighter, for all land services are not alike. On some land the gebur shall pay honey-gafol, on some meat-gafol, on some ale-gafol. Let him who is over the district take care that he knows what the old land-customs are, and what are the customs of the people.

Rectitudines Singularum Personarum (cited in Anglo-Saxon, Latin, and English, F. Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, London, 1890, 129-133).

By ETHEL-
RED II,
or ETHEL-
RED THE
UNREADY
(†1016).
This oath was
taken at the
bidding of
Dunstan.
No. II shows
how little it
was kept.

10. Coronation Oath of Ethelred II (979)

In the name of the Holy Trinity, three things do I promise to this Christian people, my subjects; first, that I will hold God's church and all the Christian people of my realm in true peace; second, that I will forbid all rapine and injustice to men of all conditions; third, that I promise and enjoin justice and mercy in all judgements, in order that a just and merciful God may give us all His eternal favor, who liveth and reigneth.

Reliquiæ Antiquæ, II, 194 (cited in English translation by Kemble, *Saxons in England*, London, 1849, II, 36).

11. King Ethelred and the Danes (1006-1010)

A. 1006. . . . And then, after mid-summer, then came the great fleet to Sandwich, and did all as they had been before wont; they ravaged, and burned, and destroyed, wherever they went. Then the king commanded all the people of Wessex and of Mercia to be called out; and then they lay out all the harvest in the field against the army. But it availed nothing the more than it oft before had done: but for all this the army went wheresoever itself would, and the forces did every kind of harm to the inhabitants; so that neither profited them, nor the home army nor the foreign army. When it became winter, then went the forces home; and the army then came, over St. Martin's-mass, to their quarters in the Isle of Wight, and procured themselves there from all parts that which they needed. And then, at mid-winter, they went to their ready store, throughout Hampshire into Berkshire, to Reading: and they did their old wont; they lighted their war-beacons as they went. Then went they to Wallingford, and that all burned, and were then one day in Cholsey: and they went then along Ashdown to Cuckamsley-hill, and there abode, as a daring boast; for it had been often said, if they should reach Cuckamsley-hill, that they would never again get to the sea: then they went homewards another way. Then were forces assembled at Kennet and they there joined battle, and they soon brought that band to flight, and afterwards carried their booty to the sea. But there might the Winchester-men see an army daring and fearless, as they went by their gates towards the sea, and fetched themselves food and treasures over fifty miles from the sea. Then had the king gone over Thames into Shropshire, and there took his abode during the mid-winter's tide. Then became the dread of the army so great,

From the
SAXON
CHRONICLE.
Probably
compiled
annually in
one or more
of the leading
monasteries
of the king-
dom, and
extending
from at least
the ninth
century to
1154. "No
other nation
can produce
any history,
written in its
own vernacu-
lar, at all
approaching
the Anglo-
Saxon
Chronicle,
either in
antiquity,
truthfulness,
or extent, the
historical
books of the
Bible alone
excepted."
Thorpe.

"The great
fleet," *i.e.* the
Danish fleet.

"The king"
= Ethelred
the Unready.

"The army,"
i.e. the Dan-
ish force.

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that no man could think or discover how they could be driven out of the land, or this land maintained against them ; for they had every shire in Wessex sadly marked, by burning and by plundering. Then the king began earnestly with his witan to consider what might seem most advisable to them all, so that this land might be saved, before it was utterly destroyed. Then the king and his witan decreed, for the behoof of the whole nation, though it was hateful to them all, that they needs must pay tribute to the army. Then the king sent to the army, and directed it to be made known to them, that he would that there should be a truce between them, and that tribute should be paid, and food given them. And then all that they accepted : and then they were victualled from throughout the English nation.

A. 1007. In this year was the tribute delivered to the army, that was thirty-six thousand pounds. In this year also was Edric appointed ealdorman over the kingdom of Mercia. . . .

A. 1008. This year the king commanded that ships should be speedily built throughout the English nation : that is then, from three hundred hides and from ten hides, one vessel ; and from eight hides, a helmet and a coat of mail.

A. 1009. In this year were the ships ready about which we before spake ; and there were so many of them as never before, according as books say unto us, had been among the English nation in any king's days. And they were all brought together to Sandwich, and there they were to lie and defend this land against every foreign army. But still we had not the good fortune nor the worthiness, that the ship-force could be of any use to this land, any more than it oft before had been. Then befell it at this same time, or a little before, that Brihtric, Edric the ealdorman's brother, accused [of treason] to the king Wulfnoth, the "child" of the South-Saxons, father of Godwin the earl. He then went out, and enticed ships unto him, until he had

Tribute was first paid in 991.

Edric, surnamed the Gainer, was the evil genius of the English.

The later hide was about 120 acres. The pre-Norman hide was, perhaps, from 30 to 60 acres.

Reference obscure.

twenty; and he then ravaged everywhere by the south coast, and wrought every kind of evil. Then it was told unto the ship-forces that they might be easily taken, if they would go about it. Then Brihtric took with him eighty ships, and thought that he should acquire great fame if he could seize Wulfnoth alive or dead. But as they were on their way thither, then came such a wind against them as no man before remembered, and the ships it then utterly beat, and smashed to pieces, and cast upon the land; and soon came Wulfnoth, and burned the ships. When this was thus known in the other ships where the king was, how the others had fared, then was it as if it had been all hopeless; and the king went his way home, and the ealdormen and the nobility, and thus lightly left the ships; and then afterwards, the people who were in the ships brought them to London: and they let the whole nation's toil thus lightly pass away; and no better was that victory on which the whole English nation had fixed their hopes. When this ship-expedition had thus ended, then came, soon after Lammas, the vast hostile army, which we have called Thurkill's army, to Sandwich; and they soon went their way to Canterbury, and the city would soon have subdued, if the citizens had not first desired peace of them: and all the people of East-Kent made peace with the army, and gave them three thousand pounds. And then, soon after that, the army went forth till they came to the Isle of Wight; and thence everywhere in Sussex, and in Hampshire, and also in Berkshire, they ravished and plundered as their wont is. Then the king commanded the whole nation to be called out; so that they should be opposed on every side: but lo! nevertheless, they marched as they pleased. Then, upon a certain occasion, the king had got before them with all his forces, as they would go to their ships; and all the people were ready to attack them. But it was then prevented through Edric the ealdorman, as it ever is still. . . .

A Danish chief who invaded England in 1009. In 1012 he entered Ethelred's service. Later he supported Canute.

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Ealdorman
of the East-
Angles,
killed at
Assandun,
1016.

A. 1010. This year, after Easter, came the fore-mentioned army into East-Anglia, and landed at Ipswich, and went forthwith where they understood Ulfkytel was with his forces. This was on the day, called the first of the ascension of our Lord. The East Angles soon fled. Then stood Cambridge-shire firmly against them. There was slain Athelstan the king's son-in-law, and Oswy and his son, and Wulfric, Leofwin's son, and Eadwy, Efy's brother, and many other good thanes, and numberless of the people : the flight first began at Thurkytel Myrehead. And the Danes had possession of the place of carnage : and there were they horsed ; and afterwards had dominion over East-Anglia, and the land three months ravaged and burned ; and they even went into the wild fens, and they destroyed men and cattle, and burned throughout the fens : and Thetford they burned, and Cambridge. And after that they went southward again to the Thames, and the men who were horsed rode towards the ships ; and after that, very speedily, they went westward into Oxfordshire, and thence into Buckinghamshire, and so along the Ouse until they came to Bedford, and so onwards to Tensford ; and ever burning as they went. Then went they again to their ships with their booty. And when they went to their ships, then ought the forces again to have gone out against them, until they should land ; but then the forces went home : and when they were eastwards, then were the forces kept westwards ; and when they were southwards, then were our forces northwards. Then were all the witan summoned to the king, and they were then to counsel how this land might be defended. But although something might be then counselled, it did not stand even one month : at last there was no chief who would assemble forces, but each fled as he best might ; nor, at the last, would even one shire assist another. . . .

The *Saxon Chronicle* (translated by J. A. Giles, London, 1847),
398-401.

12. A Letter from Canute to the English People (1027)

"CANUTE, king of all England, and of Denmark, Norway, and part of Sweden, to Ethelnoth, metropolitan, and Ælfric, archbishop of York, and to the bishops and prelates, and to the whole nation of the English, both the nobles and the commons, greeting : —

"I notify to you that I have lately taken a journey to Rome, to pray for the forgiveness of my sins, and for the welfare of my dominions, and the people under my rule. I had long since vowed this journey to God, but I have been hitherto prevented from accomplishing it by the affairs of my kingdom and other causes of impediment. I now return most humble thanks to my God Almighty for suffering me in my lifetime to visit the sanctuary of his apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, and all others which I could find either within or without the city of Rome, and there in person reverentially worship according to my desire. I have performed this chiefly, because I have learnt from wise men that St. Peter the apostle has received from God great power in binding and in loosing, and carries the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; and therefore I esteemed it very profitable to seek his special patronage with the Lord.

"Be it known to all of you that, at the celebration of Easter, a great assembly of nobles was present with our lord, the pope John, and Conrad the emperor ; that is to say, all the princes of the nations from Mount Garganus to the neighbouring sea. All these received me with honour and presented me with magnificent gifts ; but more especially was I honoured by the emperor with various gifts and valuable presents, both in gold and silver vessels, and in palls and very costly robes. I spoke with the emperor himself, and the lord pope, and the princes who were there, in regard to the

This letter of the great Danish king shows the influence of the mediæval church in drawing together the peoples of Western Europe. It shows also the spirit in which Canute ruled, and the wide-ness of his interests. As king of the English, the Danes, the Norwegians, and a great part of the Swedes, his power was equalled by that of the emperor alone.

John XIX.

Conrad II.

Mountain at the eastern end of the Apennines.

The Mediterranean.

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wants of my people, English as well as Danes ; that there should be granted to them more equal justice and greater security in their journeys to Rome, and that they should not be hindered by so many barriers on the road, nor harassed by unjust tolls. The emperor assented to my demands, as well as king Rodolph, in whose dominions these barriers chiefly stand ; and all the princes made edicts that my people, the merchants as well as those who go to pay their devotions, shall pass to and fro in their journies to Rome in peace, and under the security of just laws, free from all molestation by the guards of barriers or the receivers of tolls. I made further complaint to my lord the pope, and expressed my high displeasure, that my archbishops are sorely aggrieved by the demand of immense sums of money, when, according to custom, they resort to the apostolical see to obtain the pallium ; and it is decreed that it should no longer be done. All things, therefore, which I requested for the good of my people from my lord the pope, and the emperor, and king Rodolph, and the other princes through whose territories our road to Rome lies, they have most freely granted, and even ratified their concessions by oath ; to which four archbishops, twenty bishops, and an innumerable multitude of dukes and nobles who were there present, are witnesses. Wherefore I return most hearty thanks to Almighty God for my having successfully accomplished all that I had desired, as I had resolved in my mind, and having satisfied my wishes to the fullest extent.

“ Be it known therefore to all of you, that I have humbly vowed to the Almighty God himself henceforward to amend my life in all respects, and to rule the kingdoms and the people subject to me with justice and clemency, giving equitable judgments in all matters ; and if, through the intemperance of youth or negligence, I have hitherto exceeded the bounds of justice in any of my acts, I intend by God’s aid to make an entire change for the better. I therefore adjure and com-

Rudolf III,
last king of
Arles.

See No. 5.

A conse-
crated vest-
ment, symbol
of archiepis-
copal author-
ity, and
conferred by
the pope.

mand my counsellors to whom I have entrusted the affairs of my kingdom, that henceforth they neither commit themselves, nor suffer to prevail, any sort of injustice throughout my dominions, either from fear of me, or from favour to any powerful person. I also command all sheriffs and magistrates throughout my whole kingdom, as they tender my regard and their own safety, that they use no unjust violence to any man, rich or poor, but that all, high and low, rich or poor, shall enjoy alike impartial law ; from which they are never to deviate, either on account of royal favour, respect of person in the great, or for the sake of amassing money wrongfully, for I have no need to accumulate wealth by iniquitous exactions.

“I wish you further to know, that, returning by the way I went, I am now going to Denmark to conclude a treaty for a solid peace, all the Danes concurring, with those nations and peoples who would have taken my life and crown if it had been possible ; but this they were not able to accomplish, God bringing their strength to nought. — May He, of his merciful kindness, uphold me in my sovereignty and honour, and henceforth scatter and bring to nought the power and might of all my adversaries ! When, therefore, I shall have made peace with the surrounding nations, and settled and reduced to order all my dominions in the East, so that we shall have nothing to fear from war or hostilities in any quarter, I propose to return to England as early in the summer as I shall be able to fit out my fleet. I have sent this epistle before me in order that my people may be gladdened at my success ; because, as you yourselves know, I have never spared, nor will I spare, myself or my exertions, for the needful service of my whole people. I now therefore command and adjure all my bishops and the governors of my kingdom, by the duty they owe to God and myself, to take care that before I come to England all dues belonging to God, according to the old laws, be fully discharged ;

Reference
to Olaf
of Norway.

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namely, plough-alms, the tythe of animals born in the current year, and the pence payable to St. Peter at Rome, whether from towns or vills ; and in the middle of August the tythes of corn ; and at the feast of St. Martin the first-fruits of grain (payable) to every one's parish church, called in English *ciric-sceat*. If these and such-like dues be not paid before I come, those who make default will incur fines to the king, according to law, which will be strictly enforced without mercy. Farewell."

Canute, *Epistola* (cited in Florence of Worcester, *Chronicle*.
Translated by T. Forester, London, 1854, 137-139).

CHAPTER III — NORMAN ENGLAND

13. A Great Year in England's History (1066)

A. 1066. In this year king Harold came from York to Westminster, at Easter which was after the mid-winter in which the king died ; and Easter was then on the day 16th before the Kalends of May. . . . And soon after came in Tosty the earl from beyond sea into the Isle of Wight, with so great a fleet as he might procure ; and there they yielded him as well money as food. And king Harold, his brother, gathered so great a ship-force, and also a land-force, as no king here in the land had before done ; because it was made known to him that William the bastard would come hither and win this land ; all as it afterwards happened. And the while, came Tosty the earl into Humber with sixty ships ; and Edwin the earl came with a land-force and drove him out. And the boatmen forsook him ; and he went to Scotland with twelve vessels. And there met him Harold, king of Norway, with three hundred ships ; and Tosty submitted to him and became his man. And they then went both into Humber, until they came to York ; and there fought against them Edwin the earl, and Morkar the earl, his brother ; but the Northmen had the victory. Then was it made known to Harold, king of the Angles, that this had thus happened : and this battle was on the vigil of St. Matthew. Then came Harold our king unawares on the Northmen, and met with them beyond York, at Stanford-bridge, with a great army of English people ; and there during the day was a very severe fight on both sides. There was slain Harold the Fair-haired, and Tosty the earl ; and the Northmen who were there

From the
SAXON
CHRONICLE.
See No. II.
There is no
good account
of the great
battle that
decided Eng-
land's fate in
1066. And
the other
great contest
of the year,
that of Stam-
ford-bridge,
has come
down to us
only in the
meagre state-
ments of the
chronicles
and the po-
etical relation
of the Sagas
of Harold
Hardrada.
The national
chronicle,
however,
gives us a
brief view of
the great
events of one
of the most
critical years
in English
history.

The king, *i.e.*
Edward.

Tosty, Har-
old's traitor
brother,
came from
Normandy,
aided by
William.

Edwin, Earl of Mercia.

Harold Hardrada, a typical viking. He is said to have called out a levy of half the fighting men of his kingdom for this expedition. This was the last great Scandinavian descent upon England.

Morkar, Earl of Northumbria.

William landed in England three days after the battle of Stamford-bridge.

In three weeks Harold led his forces from the south to the north, and back again to the coast; and fought two great battles.

Archbishop of York.

There were no pitched battles between English and Normans after Senlac.

remaining were put to flight; and the English from behind hotly smote them, until they came, some, to their ships, some were drowned, and some also burned; and thus in divers ways they perished, so that there were few left: and the English had possession of the place of carnage. The king then gave his protection to Olave, son of the king of the Norwegians, and to their bishop, and to the earl of Orkney, and to all those who were left in the ships: and they then went up to our king, and swore oaths that they ever would observe peace and friendship towards this land; and the king let them go home with twenty-four ships. These two general battles were fought within five days. Then came William, earl of Normandy, into Pevensey, on the eve of St. Michael's-mass: and soon after they were on their way, they constructed a castle at Hasting's-port. This was then made known to king Harold, and he then gathered a great force, and came to meet him at the estuary of Appledore; and William came against him unawares, before his people were set in order. But the king nevertheless strenuously fought against him with those men who would follow him; and there was great slaughter made on either hand. There was slain King Harold, and Leofwin the earl his brother, and Girth the earl, his brother, and many good men; and the Frenchmen had possession of the place of carnage, all as God granted them for the people's sins. Archbishop Aldred and the townsmen of London would then have child Edgar for king, all as was his true natural right: and Edwin and Morcar vowed to him that they would fight together with him. But in that degree that it ought ever to have been forwarder, so was it from day to day later and worse; so that at the end all passed away. . . . And William the earl went afterwards again to Hastings, and there awaited to see whether the people would submit to him. But when he understood that they would not come to him, he went upwards with all his army which was left to

Conquered and Conquerors 41

him, and that which afterwards had come from over sea to him; and he plundered all that part which he over-ran, until he came to Berkhamstead. And there came to meet him archbishop Aldred, the child Edgar, and Edwin the earl, and Morcar the earl, and all the chief men of London; and then submitted, for need, when the most harm had been done: and it was very unwise that they had not done so before; since God would not better it, for our sins: and they delivered hostages, and swore oaths to him; and he vowed to them that he would be a loving lord to them: and nevertheless, during this, they plundered all that they over-ran. Then, on mid-winter's day, archbishop Aldred consecrated him king at Westminster; and he gave him a pledge upon Christ's book, and also swore, before he would set the crown upon his head, that he would govern this nation as well as any king before him had at the best done, if they would be faithful to him. Nevertheless, he laid a tribute on the people, very heavy; and then went, during Lent, over sea to Normandy, and took with him archbishop Stigand, and Aylnoth, abbat of Glastonbury, and child Edgar, and Edwin the earl, and Morkar the earl, and Waltheof the earl, and many other good men of England. And bishop Odo and William the earl remained here behind, and they built castles wide throughout the nation, and poor people distressed; and ever after it greatly grew in evil. May the end be good when God will!

Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

Odo, King
William's
brother, and
William Fitz
Osbert, his
most trusted
follower.

The *Saxon Chronicle* (translated by J. A. Giles, London, 1847),
439-442.

14. Conquered and Conquerors (1066)

This was a fatal day to England, a melancholy havoc of our dear country, through its change of masters. For it had long since adopted the manners of the Angles, which

By WILLIAM
OF MALMES-
BURY
(1095?-
1143?), a
Benedictine
monk born

of a Norman father and an English mother, and chief historian of the Anglo-Norman period. He had access to very extensive materials, and he used them with an intelligence and discrimination which raise him far above the level of the mere chronicler. "More information is perhaps to be gathered from him than from all the writers who preceded him," Hardy. His sympathies were with the conquerors, but he tries to be impartial in his treatment of the Anglo-Norman period. The following extract is taken from William's most important work, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, extending from 449 to 1119.

had been very various according to the times : for in the first years of their arrival, they were barbarians in their look and manners, warlike in their usages, heathens in their rites ; but, after embracing the faith of Christ, by degrees, and in process of time, from the peace they enjoyed, regarding arms only in a secondary light, they gave their whole attention to religion. . . . Nevertheless, in process of time, the desire after literature and religion had decayed, for several years before the arrival of the Normans. The clergy, contented with a very slight degree of learning, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments ; and a person who understood grammar was an object of wonder and astonishment. The monks mocked the rule of their order by fine vestments, and the use of every kind of food. The nobility, given up to luxury and wantonness, went not to church in the morning after the manner of Christians, but merely in a careless manner, heard matins and masses from a hurrying priest in their chambers. . . . The commonalty, left unprotected, became a prey to the most powerful, who amassed fortunes, by either seizing on their property, or by selling their persons into foreign countries ; although it be an innate quality of this people, to be more inclined to revelling than to the accumulation of wealth. . . . Drinking in parties was a universal practice, in which occupation they passed entire nights as well as days. They consumed their whole substance in mean and despicable houses ; unlike the Normans and French, who, in noble and splendid mansions, lived with frugality. The vices attendant on drunkenness, which enervate the human mind, followed ; hence it arose that engaging William, more with rashness and precipitate fury than military skill, they doomed themselves and their country to slavery, by one, and that an easy, victory. "For nothing is less effective than rashness ; and what begins with violence, quickly ceases, or is repelled." In fine, the English at that time wore short garments reaching to the mid-knee ;

Conquered and Conquerors 43

they had their hair cropped ; their beards shaven ; their arms laden with golden bracelets ; their skin adorned with punctured designs. They were accustomed to eat till they became surfeited, and to drink till they were sick. These latter qualities they imparted to their conquerors ; as to the rest they adopted their manners. I would not, however, have these bad propensities universally ascribed to the English. I know that many of the clergy, at that day, trod the path of sanctity by a blameless life ; I know that many of the laity, of all ranks and conditions, in this nation, were well-pleasing to God. Be injustice far from this account ; the accusation does not involve the whole indiscriminately. "But, as in peace, the mercy of God often cherishes the bad and the good together ; so, equally, does his severity sometimes include them both in captivity."

Moreover, the Normans, that I may speak of them also, were at that time, and are even now, proudly appalled, delicate in their food, but not excessive. They are a race inured to war, and can hardly live without it ; fierce in rushing against the enemy ; and where strength fails of success, ready to use stratagem, or to corrupt by bribery. As I have related, they live in large edifices with economy ; envy their equals, wish to excel their superiors ; and plunder their subjects, though they defend them from others ; they are faithful to their lords, though a slight offence renders them perfidious. They weigh treachery by its chance of success, and change their sentiments with money. They are, however, the kindest of nations, and they esteem strangers worthy of equal honour with themselves. They also intermarry with their vassals. They revived, by their arrival, the observances of religion, which were everywhere grown lifeless in England. You might see churches rise in every village, and monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before ; you might behold the country flourishing with renovated rites ; so that each wealthy man accounted that day

lost to him, which he had neglected to signalize by some magnificent action. . . .

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (translated by J. A. Giles, London, 1847), 278-280.

From the
SAXON
CHRONICLE.

See No. II.

The accompanying extract refers to two of the most important events in the reign of William I, the Great Survey, and the Salisbury Meeting.

The Survey was completed in July, 1086. The Chronicle shows the popular feeling toward a measure which is now the common policy. The result of the inquiry was embodied in the Domesday Book, a record of unique character and extraordinary value to the historical student. "The Great Survey is in truth a picture of the nation." Freeman.

15. England under the Conqueror

A. 1085. . . . After this the king had a great consultation, and spoke very deeply with his witan concerning this land, how it was held, and what were its tenantry. He then sent his men over all England, into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hundred hides of land it contained, and what lands the king possessed therein, what cattle there were in the several counties, and how much revenue he ought to receive yearly from each. He also caused them to write down how much land belonged to his archbishops, to his bishops, his abbats, and his earls, and, that I may be brief, what property every inhabitant of all England possessed in land or in cattle, and how much money this was worth. So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made, that there was not a single hide nor a rood of land, nor—it is shameful to relate that which he thought no shame to do—was there an ox, or a cow, or a pig passed by, and that was not set down in the accounts, and then all these writings were brought to him.

A. 1086. This year the king wore his crown and held his court at Winchester at Easter, and he so journeyed forward that he was at Westminster during Pentecost, and there he dubbed his son Henry a knight. And afterwards he travelled about, so that he came to Salisbury at Lammas; and his witan, and all the land-holders of substance in England, whose vassals soever they were, repaired to him there, and they all submitted to him, and became his men, and swore

England under the Conqueror 45

oaths of allegiance, that they would be faithful to him against all others. Thence he proceeded to the Isle of Wight because he was to cross over to Normandy; and this he afterwards did; but first according to his custom, he extorted immense sums from his subjects, upon every pretext he could find, whether just or otherwise. . . . And the same was a very heavy year, and very disastrous and sorrowful; for there was a pestilence among the cattle, and the corns and fruits were checked; and the weather was worse than may easily be conceived: so violent was the thunder and lightning, that many persons were killed: and things ever grew worse and worse with the people. May Almighty God mend them, when such is his will!

A. 1087. The year 1087 after the birth of Christ our Saviour, and the one and twentieth of king William's reign, during which he governed and disposed of the realm of England even as God permitted him, was a very grievous time of scarcity in this land. There was also so much illness, that almost every other man was afflicted with the worst of evils, that is, a fever; and this so severe, that many died of it. And afterwards, from the badness of the weather which we have mentioned before, there was so great a famine throughout England, that many hundreds died of hunger. Oh, how disastrous, how rueful were those times! when the wretched people were brought to the point of death by the fever, then the cruel famine came on and finished them. Who would not deplore such times, or who is so hard-hearted that he will not weep for so much misery? But such things are, on account of the sins of the people, and because they will not love God and righteousness. Even so was it in those days; there was little righteousness in this land amongst any, excepting the monks alone, who fared well. The king and the chief men loved much, and over much, to amass gold and silver, and cared not how sinfully it was gotten, so that it came into their hands. The king sold out his lands as

The meeting at Salisbury followed upon the completion of the Survey. The number present is put by tradition at 60,000. William's policy of exacting the oath of fealty from all free-men shows his determination to be in truth king of the English people and not merely England's feudal overlord.

William never returned to England.

dear as dearest he might, and then some other man came and bid more than the first had given, and the king granted them to him who offered the larger sum ; then came a third and bid yet more, and the king made over the lands to him who offered most of all ; and he cared not how iniquitously his sheriffs extorted money from the miserable people, nor how many unlawful things they did. And the more men spake of rightful laws, the more lawlessly did they act. They raised oppressive taxes, and so many were their unjust deeds, it were hard to number them.

The *Saxon Chronicle* (translated by J. A. Giles, London, 1847), 458-460.

Many of William's sheriffs were Englishmen.

From the SAXON CHRONICLE. See No. 11. The following estimate of the Conqueror is of especial interest as coming from one of the conquered. It should, however, be kept in mind that William was a generous supporter of the church. — On William, see Edward Freeman, *William the Conqueror*.

16. William the Great (1087)

. . . . Rueful deeds he did, and ruefully he suffered. Wherefore ruefully? He fell sick and became grievously ill. What can I say? The sharpness of death, that spareth neither rich nor poor, seized upon him. He died in Normandy, the day after the nativity of St. Mary, and he was buried in Caen, at St. Stephen's monastery, which he had built and had richly endowed. Oh, how false, how unstable, is the good of this world ! He, who had been a powerful king and the lord of many territories, possessed not then, of all his lands, more than seven feet of ground ; and he, who was erewhile adorned with gold and with gems, lay then covered with mould. He left three sons : Robert, the eldest, was earl of Normandy after him ; the second, named William, wore the crown of England after his father's death ; and his third son was Henry, to whom he bequeathed immense treasures.

If any would know what manner of man king William was, the glory that he obtained, and of how many lands he

was lord ; then will we describe him as we have known him, we, who have looked upon him, and who once lived in his court. This king William, of whom we are speaking, was a very wise and a great man, and more honoured and more powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure towards those who withstood his will. He founded a noble monastery on the spot where God permitted him to conquer England, and he established monks in it, and he made it very rich. In his days the great monastery at Canterbury was built, and many others also throughout England ; moreover this land was filled with monks who lived after the rule of St. Benedict ; and such was the state of religion in his days that all that would, might observe that which was prescribed by their respective orders. King William was also held in much reverence : he wore his crown three times every year when he was in England : at Easter he wore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester. And at these times, all the men of England were with him, archbishops, bishops, abbats, and earls, thanes, and knights. So also was he a very stern and a wrathful man, so that none durst do anything against his will, and he kept in prison those earls who acted against his pleasure. He removed bishops from their sees, and abbats from their offices, and he imprisoned thanes, and at length he spared not his own brother Odo. This Odo was a very powerful bishop in Normandy, his see was that of Bayeux, and he was foremost to serve the king. He had an earldom in England, and when William was in Normandy he was the first man in this country, and him did he cast into prison. Amongst other things the good order that William established is not to be forgotten ; it was such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosom-full of gold unmolested ; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he

The conspirators of 1074.

To Odo next to the Conqueror was due the success of the Norman invasion. Because of oppressive acts and ambitious designs he was thrown into prison in

1082 and kept
confined
until 1087.

I.e. Wales.

In 1072
Malcolm,
King of Scots,
took oaths to
William and
became his
man.

The progress
of the Con-
quest was
marked by
the building
of castles with
which Will-
iam chained
the land.

William laid
waste Hamp-
shire for 30
miles to make
New Forest.

might have received from him. He reigned over England and being sharp-sighted to his own interest, he surveyed the kingdom so thoroughly that there was not a single hide of land throughout the whole, of which he knew not the possessor, and how much it was worth, and this he afterwards entered in his register. The land of the Britons was under his sway, and he built castles therein; moreover he had full dominion over the Isle of Man (Anglesey): Scotland also was subject to him from his great strength; the land of Normandy was his inheritance, and he possessed the earldom of Maine; and had he lived two years longer he would have subdued Ireland by his prowess, and that without a battle. Truly there was much trouble in these times, and very great distress; he caused castles to be built, and oppressed the poor. The king was also of great sternness, and he took from his subjects many marks of gold and many hundred pounds of silver, and this, either with or without right, and with little need. He was given to avarice, and greedily loved gain. He made large forests for the deer, and enacted laws therewith, so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer, so also the boars; and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed concerning the hares, that they should go free. The rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked nought of them; they must will all that the king willed, if they would live; or would keep their lands; or would hold their possessions; or would be maintained in their rights.

The Saxon Chronicle (translated by J. A. Giles, London, 1847),
460-463.

17. The Charter of Henry I (1100)

“Henry by the grace of God king of England, to Hugh de Boclande justiciary of England, and all his faithful subjects, as well French as English, in Hertfordshire, greeting. — Know that I, by the Lord’s mercy, have been crowned king by common consent of the barons of the kingdom of England; and because the kingdom has been oppressed by unjust exactions, I, out of respect to God, and the love which I feel towards you, in the first place constitute the holy church of God a free church, so that I will not sell it, nor farm it out, nor will I, on the death of any archbishop, bishop, or abbat, take anything from the domain of the church or its people, until his successor takes his place. And I from this time do away with all the evil practices, by which the kingdom of England is now unjustly oppressed, and these evil practices I here in part mention: If any baron, earl, or other subject of mine, who holds possession from me, shall die, his heir shall not redeem his land, as was the custom in my father’s time, but shall pay a just and lawful relief for the same; and in like manner too, the dependants of my barons shall pay a like relief for their land to their lords. And if any baron or other subject of mine shall wish to give his daughter, his sister, his niece, or other female relative, in marriage, let him ask my permission on the matter; but I will not take any of his property for granting my permission, nor will I forbid his giving her in marriage except he wishes to give her to an enemy of mine; and if on the death of a baron or other subject of mine the daughter is left heiress, I, by the advice of my barons, will give her in marriage together with her land; and if on the death of a husband the wife is surviving and is childless, she shall have her dowry for a marriage portion, and I will not give her away to another husband unless with her consent; but

HENRY I.
(1068–1135)
issued the Charter of Liberties at his coronation in 1100, with the hope of winning the support of the people against the rival claims of his brother Robert, and the opposition of the feudal barons. By this act Henry deliberately limited his power over his subjects, promising a restoration of the ancient customs which prevailed before the conquest. — See in this connection Nos. 10, 18, and 24, and *Magna Carta, Old South Leaflets*, No. 5.

Relief = payment made by the feudal tenant to his lord on taking possession of the land.

These sections illustrate the constant interference in social and

family relations under the feudal system.

"A payment by the money-ers for the privilege of coining; otherwise explained as a payment by the subjects to prevent loss by the depreciation or change of coinage." Stubbs.

Ferm = "profits of the county jurisdiction let at fixed sums to the sheriffs." Stubbs.

if a wife survives, having children, she shall have her dowry as a marriage portion, as long as she shall keep herself according to law, and I will not give her to a husband unless with her consent; and the guardian of the children's land shall be either the wife, or some other nearer relation, who ought more rightly to be so; and I enjoin on my barons to act in the same way towards the sons and daughters and wives of their dependants. Moreover the common moneytage, as taken throughout the cities and counties, such as was not in use in king Edward's time, is hereby forbidden; and if any one, whether a coiner or any other person, be taken with false money, let strict justice be done to him for it. All pleas and all debts, which were due to the king my brother, I forgive, except my farms, and those debts which were contracted for the inheritances of others, or for those things which more justly belong to others. And if any one shall have covenanted anything for his inheritance, I forgive it, and all reliefs which were contracted for just inheritances. And if any baron or subject of mine shall be ill, I hereby ratify all such disposition as he shall have made of his money; but if through service in war or sickness he shall have made no disposition of his money, his wife, or children, or parents, and legitimate dependants, shall distribute it for the good of his soul, as shall seem best to them. If any baron or other subject of mine shall have made forfeiture, he shall not give bail to save his money, as was done in the time of my father and my brother, but according to the degree of the forfeiture; nor shall he make amends for his fault as he did in the time of my father or of my other ancestors; and if any one shall be convicted of treason or other crime, his punishment shall be according to his fault. I forgive all murders committed previous to the day on which I was crowned king; but those which have been since committed, shall be justly punished, according to the law of king Edward. By the common advice of my barons, I have

retained the forests in my possession as my father held them. All knights, moreover, who hold their lands by service, are hereby allowed to have their domains free from all amerce-ments and from all peculiar service, that as they are thus relieved from a great burden, they may provide themselves properly with horse and arms, so that they may be fit and ready for my service and for the defence of my kingdom. I bestow confirmed peace in all my kingdom, and I order it be preserved from henceforth. I restore to you the law of king Edward, with the amendments which my father, by the advice of his barons, made in it. If any one has taken anything of mine, or of any one else's property, since the death of my brother king William, let it all be soon restored without alteration; and if any one shall retain anything of it, he shall, on being discovered, atone to me for it heavily. Witness Maurice bishop of London, William elect of Winchester, Gerard of Hereford, earl Henry, earl Simon, earl Walter Gifford, Robert de Montfort, Roger Bigod, and many others."

Henry actually extended the limits of the forests.

I.e. fines.

Roger of Wendover, *History of England* (translated by J. A. Giles, London, 1849), II, 276-278.

18. The Anarchy

A. 1135. This year, at Lammas, king Henry went over sea: and on the second day, as he lay asleep in the ship, the day was darkened universally, and the sun became as if it were a moon three nights old, with the stars shining round it at mid-day. Men greatly marvelled, and great fear fell on them, and they said that some great event should follow thereafter—and so it was, for the same year the king died in Normandy, on the day after the feast of St. Andrew. Soon did this land fall into trouble, for every man greatly began

From the
SAXON
CHRONICLE.
See No. II.

Henry I.

Henry I. had no legitimate sons who survived him.

Archbishop of Canterbury.

to rob his neighbor as he might. Then king Henry's sons and his friends took his body, and brought it to England, and buried it at Reading. He was a good man, and great was the awe of him; no man durst ill treat another in his time: he made peace for men and deer. Whoso bare his burden of gold and silver, no man durst say to him ought but good. In the meantime his nephew Stephen de Blois had arrived in England, and he came to London, and the inhabitants received him, and sent for the archbishop, William Corboil, who consecrated him king on midwinter-day. In this king's time was all discord, and evil-doing, and robbery; for the powerful men who had kept aloof soon rose up against him; . . .

A. 1137. This year King Stephen went over sea to Normandy, and he was received there because it was expected that he would be altogether like his uncle, and because he had gotten possession of his treasure, but this he distributed and scattered foolishly. King Henry had gathered together much gold and silver, yet did he no good for his soul's sake with the same. When king Stephen came to England, he held an assembly at Oxford; and there he seized Roger bishop of Salisbury, and Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and Roger the chancellor, his nephew, and he kept them all in prison till they gave up their castles. When the traitors perceived that he was a mild man, and a soft, and a good, and that he did not enforce justice, they did all wonder. They had done homage to him, and sworn oaths, but they no faith kept; all became forsworn, and broke their allegiance, for every rich man built his castles, and defended them against him, and they filled the land full of castles. They greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at these castles, and when the castles were finished they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those whom they suspected to have any goods, by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and they put them in

After the conquest the Norman castle plays an important part in English history. It was a stronghold which was seldom reduced, save by starvation of the garrison.

prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable, for never were any martyrs tormented as these were. . . . Many thousands they exhausted with hunger. I cannot and I may not tell of all the wounds, and all the tortures that they inflicted upon the wretched men of this land ; and this state of things lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king, and ever grew worse and worse. They were continually levying an exaction from the towns, which they called Tenserie, and when the miserable inhabitants had no more to give, then plundered they, and burnt all the towns, so that well mightest thou walk a whole day's journey nor ever shouldest thou find a man seated in a town, or its lands tilled.

Chief rent
from land.

Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese, and butter, for there was none in the land — wretched men starved with hunger — some lived on alms who had been erewhile rich : some fled the country — never was there more misery, and never acted heathens worse than these. At length they spared neither church nor churchyard, but they took all that was valuable therein, and then burned the church and all together. Neither did they spare the lands of bishops, nor of abbats, nor of priests ; but they robbed the monks and the clergy, and every man plundered his neighbour as much as he could. If two or three men came riding to a town, all the township fled before them, and thought that they were robbers. The bishops and clergy were ever cursing them, but this to them was nothing, for they were all accursed and forsworn, and reprobate. The earth bare no corn, you might as well have tilled the sea, for the land was all ruined by such deeds, and it was said openly that Christ and his saints slept. These things, and more than we can say, did we suffer during nineteen years because of our sins. . . .

A. 1140. . . . Then there arose a very great war between the king and Randolph earl of Chester, not because the king

did not give him all that he could ask, even as he did to all others, but that the more he gave them, the worse they always carried themselves to him. The earl held Lincoln against the king, and seized all that belonged to the king there, and the king went thither, and besieged him and his brother William de Romare in the castle : and the earl stole out and went for Robert earl of Gloucester, and brought him thither with a large army ; and they fought furiously against their lord on Candlemas-day, and they took him captive, for his men betrayed him and fled, and they led him to Bristol, and there they put him into prison and close confinement. Now was all England more disturbed than before, and all evil was in the land. After this, king Henry's daughter, who had been empress of Germany, and was now countess of Anjou, arrived, and she came to London, and the citizens would have seized her, but she fled with much loss. Then Henry bishop of Winchester, King Stephen's brother, spake with earl Robert and with the empress, and swore them oaths that he never more would hold with the king his brother, and he cursed all those that did hold with him, and he said that he would give up Winchester to them, and he made them come thither. . . . Now was England much divided, some held with the king and some with the empress, for when the king was in prison the earls and the great men thought that he would never more come out, and they treated with the empress, and brought her to Oxford, and gave her the town. When the king was out of prison he heard this, and he took his army and besieged her in the tower, and they let her down from the tower by night with ropes, and she stole away, and she fled : and she went on foot to Wallingford. After this she went over sea, and all the Normans turned from the king to the earl of Anjou, some willingly, and some against their will ; for he besieged them till they gave up their castles, and they had no help from the king. . . . And the earl of Anjou died, and his

Natural son
of Henry I.

Stephen's
attack upon
the bishops
lost him the
support of
the church.

son Henry succeeded him ; and the queen of France was divorced from the king, and she went to the young earl Henry, and he took her to wife, and received all Poitou with her. Then he came into England with a great army and won castles ; and the king marched against him with a much larger army, howbeit they did not fight, but the archbishop and wise men went between them and made a treaty on these terms : that the king should be lord and king while he lived, and that Henry should be king after his death, and that he should consider him as his father, and the king him as his son, and that peace and concord should be between them, and in all England. The king, and the earl, and the bishop, and the earls, and all the great men swore to observe these and the other conditions that were then made. The earl was received with much honour at Winchester and at London, and all did homage to him, and swore to keep the peace, and it soon became a very good peace, such as never was in this land. Then the king was more powerful here than ever he was ; and the earl went over sea, and all the people loved him, because he did good justice, and made peace.

Later
Henry II.

Treaty of
Wallingford,
1153, brought
about by the
leaders of the
church, who
were all-
powerful in
the crisis.

The *Saxon Chronicle* (translated by J. A. Giles, 1847), 501-507.

By PETER OF
BLOIS

(†1200?),
secretary to
Henry II.
The com-
plaints of
Peter, which
reappear
often in his
letters, are
supported by
other con-
temporary
statements.—
On Henry II
see A. S.

Green,
Henry II;
K. Norgate,
*England
under the
Angevin
Kings*.

Henry re-
tained the
habit of con-
stantly mov-
ing about
until the end
of his days.
It was

through these
incessant
journeyings
that he be-
came ac-
quainted with
the different
parts of his
great empire,
and learned
the needs of
the various
peoples sub-
ject to his
rule.

CHAPTER IV—UNDER ANGEVIN RULE

19. Henry the Second

IF the king has promised to spend the day anywhere, especially if a herald has publicly proclaimed that such is his royal will, you may be sure that he will start off early in the morning and by his sudden change of mind will throw everybody's plans into confusion. You may see men running about as if they were mad, urging on the pack-horses, driving chariots one into another, and everything in a state of confusion. The tumult is such as to give you a vivid picture of the infernal regions. But if the king declares his intention of going to a certain place early the next morning, he will undoubtedly change his mind, and you may be sure that he will sleep till midday. You will see the pack-horses waiting under their loads, the chariots standing ready, the couriers falling asleep, the purveyors uneasy and everybody grumbling. . . .

After the weariness of long uncertainty we would have the comfort of learning that we were to stay in a place where there was prospect of food and lodging. Then there would be such confusion and running about of footmen and horsemen that you would think the infernal regions had broken open. But when our couriers had already gone the whole day's journey or almost the whole, the king would change his mind and turn aside to some other place, where perhaps he had only one house and provisions enough for himself,

but not enough to share : and I believe, if I dared to say it, that his pleasure was increased by the straits to which we were put. After wandering about three or four miles through an unknown forest and frequently in the dark, we would think our prayers were answered if we found by chance some mean, filthy hut. There was often fierce and bitter contention over these hovels, and courtiers fought with drawn swords for a lodging that it would have been disgraceful for pigs to fight for. I sometimes became separated from my own people and could hardly get them together again in three days. O God almighty, thou art king of kings and lord of lords, who art terrible to the kings of the earth, who dost take away the breath of princes and dost give health to kings, in thy power is the heart of the king to turn whithersoever thou dost will. Turn and convert the heart of this king from this unwholesome manner of life, that he may know that he is a man, and may learn to show royal grace and consideration and human compassion to the men who are drawn after him not by ambition but by necessity. . . .

You ask me to send you an accurate description of the appearance and character of the king of England. That surpasses my powers, for the genius of a Vergil would hardly be equal to it. That which I know however I will ungrudgingly share with you. Concerning David we read that it was said of him, as evidence for his beauty that he was ruddy. You may know then that our king is still ruddy, except as old age and whitening hair have changed his colour a little. He is of medium stature so that among small men he does not seem large, nor yet among large men does he seem small. His head is spherical, as if the abode of great wisdom and the special sanctuary of lofty intelligence. The size of his head is in proportion to the neck and the whole body. His eyes are full, guileless and dove-like when he is at peace, gleaming like fire when his temper

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is aroused, and in bursts of passion they flash like lightning. As to his hair he is in no danger of baldness, but his head has been closely shaved. He has a broad, square, lion-like face. His feet are arched and he has the legs of a horseman. His broad chest and muscular arms show him to be a strong, bold, active man. His hands show by their coarseness that he is careless and pays little attention to his person, for he never wears gloves except when he goes hawking. . . . Although his legs are bruised and livid from hard riding, he never sits down except when on horseback or at meals. On a single day, if necessary, he travels a journey of four or five days, and thus anticipating the plans of his enemies he baffles their devices by his sudden movements. . . . He is a passionate lover of the woods, and when not engaged in war he exercises with birds and dogs. . . . He does not loiter in his palace like other kings, but hurrying through the provinces he investigates what is being done everywhere, and is especially strict in his judgment of those whom he has appointed as judges of others. There is no one keener in counsel, of more fluent eloquence, no one who has less anxiety in danger or more in prosperity, or who is more courageous in adversity. If he has once loved any one, he rarely ceases to love him, while one for whom he has once taken a dislike he seldom admits to his favour. He always has his weapons in his hands when not engaged in consultation or at his books. When his cares and anxieties allow him to breathe he occupies himself with reading, or in a circle of clerks tries to solve some knotty question. . . .

Peter of Blois, *Epistolæ* (edited by J. A. Giles, Oxford, 1847), I, 50, 51, 193-195. Translation by A. B. Hawes.

Friendship of King Henry 59

20. The Friendship of King Henry and his Chancellor

By WILLIAM FITZ-

STEPHEN

(†1190?),

friend and

best of the

biographers

of Arch-

bishop

Thomas. He

says of him-

self, "I was

the fellow-

citizen of my

lord, his

chaplain, and

of his house-

hold, called

by his mouth

to be the

sharer of

his cares."

Fitz-Stephen,

although not

always ap-

proving, did

not swerve in

his loyalty,

and was pres-

ent at the

murder of the

Archbishop.

Later he

passed into

the service of

the king, and

became sher-

iff of Glouce-

ster, and an

itinerant

justice.

The unre-

strained

friendship

between

Henry and

his chancel-

lor was one

of the most

beautiful epi-

sodes in the

king's stormy

career.

The chancellor therefore because of his virtue, his noble spirit, and his eminent merits, was in great favour with the king, the clergy, the army and the people. After business was done with, the king and the chancellor used to play together like two little boys, whether in the palace, in church, in public, or while riding. One day they rode together in the streets of London. A strong wind was blowing, and the king saw a poor old man approaching in thin and worn out clothes. He said to the chancellor, "Do you see that man?" "Yes," said the chancellor. "How poor, how weak he is," said the king, "and how very thinly clad! Would it not be great charity to give him a thick warm cloak?" "Most certainly," replied the chancellor, "and your majesty ought to have the spirit to do it." In the mean time the poor man came up to them, and the king stopped and the chancellor with him. The king quietly addressed the beggar and asked him if he would like to have a good cloak. The beggar, not knowing who they were, supposed they were not in earnest but joking. But the king said to the chancellor, "You are the one to show this great charity," and laying his hands upon him he tried to pull off a fine new cloak made of thick scarlet cloth which the chancellor wore, while the chancellor on the other hand tried to prevent him. Thereupon there was a great commotion and struggle. The courtiers who were following them ran up in astonishment to learn the reason for this unexpected contest. There was no one to tell them, for both king and chancellor were fully occupied with their hands, and seemed to be in danger of falling off their horses. At length the chancellor reluctantly allowed the king to conquer, to draw off his cloak and give it to the beggar. Then the king told his followers the

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The chancellor was noted for his dainty attire, which was in sharp contrast with the careless dress of the king.

whole story. There was a great laugh and some of the courtiers offered the chancellor their own cloaks and capes. The poor old man went away happy with the chancellor's cloak, enriched beyond his expectation and giving thanks to God.

Sometimes the king was the chancellor's guest, either simply for his own enjoyment, or in order to learn what was talked about in the chancellor's home and at his table. The king would sometimes send away his horse and come in when the chancellor was already at the table: sometimes he would come with his arrows in his hand, either returning from the hunt or on his way to the wood. At one time he would drink and, after seeing the chancellor, go away again. At another he would leap over the table, sit down and eat. Never have there been two men more harmonious and friendly in christian times.

William Fitz-Stephen, *Vita Sancti Thomæ* (*Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, edited by J. Robertson, London, 1877, III, 24, 25).

By HERBERT BOSHAM, the chosen friend and adviser of Archbishop Thomas. Unfortunately, his counsel was never on the side of moderation.

21. Thomas and the Primacy (1162)

The king was living at that time outside the kingdom beyond the seas and the chancellor was with him. On account of frequent hostilities on the part of the Welsh and other difficulties in the realm the king determined to send the chancellor to England. This mission he entrusted to the chancellor because the reasons for it were many and important and no one of his own men was so well fitted. Now the chancellor, after some days had been spent in making arrangements for the embassy, just before his departure went to the court at that time abiding in that stronghold of Normandy which is called Falaise, intending to simply take

Thomas and the Primacy 61

leave of the king and then set out upon his journey. But the king called him aside and said to him in secret, "You do not yet know in full the reason for your mission. It is my will that you should be archbishop of Canterbury." The chancellor, pointing to the gay fashion in which he was attired, said with a smile, "What a religious man, what a holy man you desire to place in the sacred seat and over that celebrated and sacred assembly of monks! Know surely that if by the will of God this should happen, you would speedily turn away your favour from me, and our friendship which is now so great would be changed into bitter hatred. For I am sure that you would assert many claims in ecclesiastical matters and you would demand some things which I could not quietly endure. Then jealous persons would seize the opportunity to interpose and not only would our friendship be destroyed but they would arouse perpetual hatred between us." . . .

But the king, not at all moved by these warnings of the chancellor which were prompted by his very affection, remained fixed in his purpose, and presently he gave careful and specific directions to the other envoys, men of importance, to make known his wish and desire in regard to the chancellor's promotion, to the sacred assembly of the metropolitan church and to the clergy of the kingdom. This he did in the chancellor's presence and addressing one of the envoys especially he said, "Richard" (it was Richard de Lucy), "if I were lying dead in my shroud, would you strive to have Henry, my first-born, exalted to the throne?" "Verily your majesty, I should do my utmost." And the king replied, "I wish you to use the same endeavour for the promotion of the chancellor to the seat of Canterbury."

The primacy became vacant in 1161 by the death of Archbishop Theobald.

"The words were prophetic; they sum up the whole history of the pontificate of Thomas Becket." — Norgate.

Richard de Lucy the Loyal, for twenty-five years justiciar, under Henry II.

It was the arguments of de Lucy combined with fear of the king that induced the monks of Canterbury to elect Thomas to the primacy.

Herbert Bosham. *Vita S. Thomæ (Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, edited by J. Robertson, London, 1877, III, 180-182).

22. The Conquest of Ireland in the Reign of Henry the Second

By GERALD DE BARRI (1147-1220?), a kinsman of the Fitz-Geralds and Fitz-Stephens, the leaders in the opening years of the invasion of Ireland. Gerald was born in Wales, and trained for the church at St. David's, and at the University of Paris. Twice he visited Ireland, once in 1183, and again in 1185 as chaplain and tutor to Prince John. A little later he published two works on Ireland, the *Topographia*, and the *Expugnatio*, which form our principal source of information on Irish affairs of that time. Gerald wrote as a partisan, and his statements cannot be accepted implicitly, especially in matters which concerned his kinsmen, but he was mas-

Happy would this island have been, long since would it have been vigorously and successfully subdued from end to end, long since reduced without difficulty to systematic order and kept well in hand by the building of castles from sea to sea in commanding situations on every side, had it not been for the royal edict which cut off the supplies of the first invaders; or rather, perhaps, I should say if domestic plots had not so prematurely recalled the king from that proud and noble expedition which he conducted himself in person.

Happy, too, if the worth of the original conquerors had been only appreciated as it deserved, and the care and conduct of the government been committed to the strong hands of those brave and trusty men.

For the natives of the land at our first coming had been astounded and thrown into consternation by the startling novelty of the event, and were terrified at the speed with which the archers shot and at the might of the heavy men-at-arms. But delay — which ever brings danger in its train —, the protracted, dilatory, and feeble character of the conquest, and the unskilfulness and cowardice of procurators and governors who only lulled their own side into a false security, all combined to give them heart. Moreover, by gradual and careful training in the use of the bow and other weapons, by learning caution and studying the art of ambuscade, by the confidence gained from frequently engaging in conflict with our troops, lastly taught by our very successes, these Irishmen whom at first we could rout with ease, became able to offer a stout resistance. . . .

The Irish have four prophets, Moling, Berchan, Patrick, and Columba, whose writings are in Irish and still extant among them. They speak of this conquest, and all pro-

nounce that it will be terrible, entailing many battles, a long struggle, and much bloodshed, which will continue into the times of far-distant generations. Indeed, they hardly allow that complete victory will be attained by the English, and the island be entirely subjugated from sea to sea and planted with castles, before the Day of Judgment. . . .

I speak from my own knowledge; and to the truth of what I say I can bear witness from personal experience. Inasmuch as we insolently spurned the loyal advances made to us by the natives who met us first, since God at all times shatters the proud, by our conduct on that occasion we deterred not only them but all the chief men of the island from uniting with us in the ties of friendship. . . .

In addition to the above reasons, the lands of the friendly Irish, who from the first arrival of Fitz-Stephen and the earl had faithfully stood by us, contrary to our promises we took away and gave to new-comers from England; while the ejected natives at once joined our enemies and became hostile spies, guides for them instead of as formerly guides for us, all the more dangerous from our previous intercourse.

The custody, too, of the castles and maritime towns with their adjacent lands, and the control of tribute therefrom which should have been expended for the public good and to the detriment of our adversaries, were entrusted to mere lucre-hunters, who skulked behind their stone walls, gave themselves up to continual drunkenness, and aimlessly squandered and wasted right and left to the ruin of the burghers and the advantage of the foe.

There was this also besides the other mischiefs, that directly the king's son appeared in the land, among a people who were warlike, hostile, rebellious, and savage, a people in short in no mood to yield obedience, both the civil government and the military command got into the clutches of men who had in their composition more of the thief than the soldier, knights of the carpet rather than knights

ter of a popular, vivacious style, and gives a graphic and fairly complete account of Ireland, and of its invasion by the Norman English. — On the invasion, see F. P. Barnard, *Strongbow's Conquest of Ireland*.

Domestic plots = the rebellion of Henry II's sons in 1173.

Moling flourished in the seventh century, and Berchan in the eighth. S. Patrick, the founder of the Irish church, was brought to Ireland as a slave, probably from Gaul, in the fifth century. S. Columba belonged to the sixth century.

"The earl" = Strongbow.

The king's son = John, later king of England, who came to Ireland in

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1185, and
ruled five
months.

Vergil,
Æneid, VI,
853.

of the field, rascals intent less on attacking the enemy than on looting the good citizens. Men, I say and marchers, forsooth, such as Fitz-Aldelm and his like, under whom both Wales and Ireland — since he was governor in each — had to bewail their decay. For they were fellows who neither kept faith with the subdued nor struck the slightest fear into their opponents; strangers to that noble sentiment of higher minds which prompts us "To spare the humbled and beat down the proud," but rather on the contrary, their way was "leaving the foe unharmed, the vanquished to despoil." Whence it happens that nothing has been done to establish a settled state of things in the island, either by making incursions into the hostile districts, by the erection of castles, or by the opening up of the forest-roads — the "ill ways," as they are commonly called — for the security of passengers by felling and removing the trees.

The bands of mercenaries followed the example set by their betters, and behaved in the same way as their masters, giving themselves up to wine and women and taking good care to keep inside the towns on the seaboard. Thus the inland parts, which lay nearer to the enemy, and are called march-lands (perhaps Mars' lands, from Mars, would have been a better name for them) were left entirely deserted and unprotected, and the undefended villages and fortified posts situated between the marches and the coast were abandoned to rapine, slaughter and fire. In the growing insolence of the new-comers, the veteran soldiers of the early leaders were slighted and regarded with scant favour; but kept in the background and held their peace, waiting quietly to see to what all this extravagance and disorder would eventually lead. . . .

Now all these grave disorders, though due in a measure to both causes, still are to be imputed to evil counsels even more than to the tender years of the king's son John. For this, which had always been a rude and savage land, required

John was in
his nine-
teenth year.

trained and experienced minds to mould it into shape. To any realm you will, no matter though it may long have enjoyed a healthy state, with a child-king comes woe ; how much the more then if an ignorant and untaught people be committed to an ignorant and untaught stripling prince !

Eccles. x. 16.

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hiberniæ*, Lib. II, cc. xxxiv, xxxvi. Translation by F. Barnard, *Strongbow's Conquest of Ireland* (London, 1888), 123-133.

23. A Picture of London (circ. 1173)

Of the Site thereof

Among the noble cities of the world that Fame celebrates the City of London of the Kingdom of the English, is the one seat that pours out its fame more widely, sends to farther lands its wealth and trade, lifts its head higher than the rest. It is happy in the healthiness of its air, in the Christian religion, in the strength of its defences, the nature of its site, the honour of its citizens, the modesty of its matrons ; pleasant in sports ; fruitful of noble men. Let us look into these things separately. . . .

Of Religion

There is in the church there the Episcopal Seat of St. Paul ; once it was Metropolitan, and it is thought will again become so if the citizens return into the island, unless perhaps the archiepiscopal title of Saint Thomas the Martyr, and his bodily presence, preserve to Canterbury where it is now, a perpetual dignity. But as Saint Thomas has made both cities illustrious, London by his rising, Canterbury by his setting, in regard of that saint, with admitted justice, each can claim advantage of the other. There are also, as

By WILLIAM FITZ-STEPHEN.

See No. 20. Fitz-Stephen was a native of London and lived there much of his life, and he wrote with the love and exaggeration of a citizen.

The beginnings of London go back to an early date. Even before the Roman conquest there was probably a British settlement at the place where London now stands. During the first centuries of the present era it became a place of importance. After the coming of the

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Saxons London almost disappears from history. Although not destroyed it is rarely mentioned in the records.

Gradually it grew in importance, and in the eleventh century it became the capital and the leading city of the realm.—For map and description see Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*.

In 1083 the church of St. Paul was begun on the site of the church said to have been founded by Ethelbert in 610. "St. Paul's was the rallying point as it had been the nucleus of the municipal life in London."—Norgate. This was true for many centuries.

The White Tower, keep of the Tower of London, was begun about 1078.

regards the cultivation of the Christian faith, in London and the suburbs, thirteen larger conventual churches, besides lesser parish churches one hundred and twenty-six.

Of the Strength of the City

It has on the east the Palatine Castle, very great and strong, of which the ground plan and the walls rise from a very deep foundation, fixed with a mortar tempered by the blood of animals. On the west are two towers very strongly fortified, with the high and great wall of the city having seven double gates, and towered to the north at intervals. London was walled and towered in like manner on the south, but the great fish-bearing Thames river which there glides, with ebb and flow from the sea, by course of time has washed against, loosened, and thrown down those walls. Also upwards to the west the royal palace is conspicuous above the same river, an incomparable building with ramparts and bulwarks, two miles from the city, joined to it by a populous suburb.

Of Gardens

Everywhere outside the houses of those living in the suburbs are joined to them, planted with trees, the spacious and beautiful gardens of the citizens.

Of Pasture and Tilth

Also there are, on the north side, pastures and a pleasant meadow land, through which flow river streams, where the turning wheels of mills are put in motion with a cheerful sound. Very near lies a great forest, with woodland pastures, coverts of wild animals, stags, fallow deer, boars and wild bulls. The tilled lands of the city are not of barren gravel but fat plains of Asia, that make crops luxuriant, and fill their tillers' barns with Ceres' sheaves.

Of Springs

There are also about London, on the north side, excellent suburban springs, with sweet, wholesome, and clear water that flows rippling over the bright stones; among which Holy Well, Clerken Well, and Saint Clements are frequented by greater numbers, and visited more by scholars and youth of the city when they go out for fresh air on summer evenings. It is a good city indeed when it has a good master.

The walls built by the Normans were probably on the lines of the ancient Roman walls.

The royal palace at Westminster built by William Rufus.

Of Honour of the Citizens

That City is honoured by her men, adorned by her arms, populous with many inhabitants, so that in the time of slaughter of war under King Stephen, of those going out to muster twenty thousand horsemen and sixty thousand men on foot were estimated to be fit for war. Above all other citizens, everywhere, the citizens of London are regarded as conspicuous and noteworthy for handsomeness of manners and of dress, at table, and in way of speaking. . . .

Of Schools

In London three principal churches have by privilege and ancient dignity, famous schools; yet very often by support of some personage, or of some teachers who are considered notable and famous in philosophy, there are also other schools by favour and permission. On feast days the masters have festival meetings in the churches. Their scholars dispute, some by demonstration, others by dialectics; some recite enthymemes, others do better in using perfect syllogisms. Some are exercised in disputation for display, as wrestling with opponents; others for truth, which is the grace of perfectness. Sophists who feign are judged happy in their heap and flood of words. Others paralogize. Some orators, now and then, say in their rhetorical speeches some-

St. Paul, St. Peter, and the Abbey of our Lady at Bermondsey.

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thing apt for persuasion, careful to observe rules of their art, and to omit none of the contingents. Boys of different schools strive against one another in verses, and contend about the principles of grammar and rules of the past and future tenses. . . .

Of the ordering of the City

Those engaged in the several kinds of business, sellers of several things, contractors for several kinds of work, are distributed every morning into their several localities and shops. Besides, there is in London on the river bank, among the wines in ships and cellars sold by the vintners, a public cook shop; there eatables are to be found every day, according to the season, dishes of meat, roast, fried and boiled, great and small fish, coarser meats for the poor, more delicate for the rich, of game, fowls, and small birds. If there should come suddenly to any of the citizens friends, weary from a journey and too hungry to like waiting till fresh food is bought and cooked, with water to their hands comes bread, while one runs to the river bank, and there is all that can be wanted. However great the multitude of soldiers or travellers entering the city, or preparing to go out of it, at any hour of the day or night, — that these may not fast too long and those may not go supperless, — they turn hither, if they please, where every man can refresh himself in his own way. . . . Outside one of the gates there, immediately in the suburb, is a certain field, smooth (Smith) field in fact and name. Every Friday, unless it be a higher day of appointed solemnity, there is in it a famous show of noble horses for sale. Earls, barons, knights, and many citizens who are in town, come to see or buy. . . . In another part of the field stand by themselves the goods proper to rustics, implements of husbandry, swine with long flanks, cows with full udders, oxen of bulk immense, and woolly flocks. . . . To this city from every nation under heaven merchants delight to bring

their trade by sea — This city . . is divided into wards, has annual sheriffs for its consuls, has senatorial and lower magistrates, sewers and aqueducts in its streets, its proper places and separate courts for cases of each kind, deliberative, demonstrative, judicial; has assemblies on appointed days. I do not think there is a city with more commendable customs of church attendance, honour to God's ordinances, keeping sacred festivals, almsgiving, hospitality, confirming betrothals, contracting marriages, celebration of nuptials, preparing feasts, cheering the guests, and also in care for funerals and the interment of the dead. The only pests of London are the immoderate drinking of fools and the frequency of fires. To this may be added that nearly all the bishops, abbots, and magnates of England are, as it were, citizens and freemen of London; having there their own splendid houses, to which they resort, where they spend largely when summoned to great councils by the king or by their metropolitan, or drawn thither by their own private affairs.

Of Sports

Let us now come to the sports and pastimes, seeing it is fit that a city should not only be commodious and serious, but also merry and sportful; . . . But London . . . hath holy plays, representations of miracles which holy confessors have wrought, or representations of torments wherein the constancy of martyrs appeared. Every year also at Shrove Tuesday, that we may begin with children's sports, seeing we all have been children, the schoolboys do bring cocks of the game to their master, and all the forenoon they delight themselves in cock-fighting: after dinner, all the youths go into the fields to play at the ball.

The scholars of every school have their ball, or baton, in their hands; the ancient and wealthy men of the city come forth on horseback to see the sport of the young men,

and to take part of the pleasure in beholding their agility. Every Friday in Lent a fresh company of young men comes into the field on horseback, and the best horseman conducteth the rest. Then march forth the citizens' sons, and other young men, with disarmed lances and shields, and there they practise feats of war. Many courtiers likewise, when the king lieth near, and attendants of noblemen, do repair to these exercises; and while the hope of victory doth inflame their minds, do show good proof how serviceable they would be in martial affairs.

In Easter holidays they fight battles on the water; a shield is hung upon a pole, fixed in the midst of the stream, a boat is prepared without oars, to be carried by violence of the water, and in the fore part thereof standeth a young man, ready to give charge upon the shield with his lance; if so be he breaketh his lance against the shield, and doth not fall, he is thought to have performed a worthy deed; if so be, without breaking his lance, he runneth strongly against the shield, down he falleth into the water, for the boat is violently forced with the tide; but on each side of the shield ride two boats, furnished with young men, which recover him that falleth as soon as they may. Upon the bridge, wharfs, and houses, by the river's side, stand great numbers to see and laugh thereat.

In the holidays all the summer the youths are exercised in leaping, dancing, shooting, wrestling, casting the stone, and practising their shields; the maidens trip in their timbrels, and dance as long as they can well see. In winter, every holiday before dinner, the boars prepared for brawn are set to fight, or else bulls and bears are baited.

When the great fen, or moor, which watereth the walls of the city on the north side, is frozen, many young men play upon the ice; some, striding as wide as they may, do slide swiftly; others make themselves seats of ice, as great as millstones; one sits down, many hand in hand to draw

him, and one slipping on a sudden, all fall together ; some tie bones to their feet and under their heels ; and shoving themselves by a little picked staff, do slide as swiftly as a bird flieth in the air, or an arrow out of a cross-bow. Sometime two run together with poles, and hitting one the other, either one or both do fall, not without hurt ; some break their arms, some their legs, but youth desirous of glory in this sort exerciseth itself against the time of war. Many of the citizens do delight themselves in hawks and hounds ; for they have liberty of hunting in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, all Chiltern, and in Kent to the water of Cray. . . .

William Fitz-Stephen, *Descriptio Nobilissimæ Civitatis Londonæ* (translation found in Henry Morley's edition of Stow's *Survey of London*. London, 1890, 22-28, 117-119).

CHAPTER V — THE STRUGGLE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY

By ROGER
OF WEND-
OVER

(†1235?),
a monk of
St. Albans,
and one of
the remark-
able group of
historical
writers asso-
ciated with
that monas-
tery in the
13th century.
The following
extract is
taken from
the *Chronica
Majora*,
which,
although
often appear-
ing under the
name of
Matthew
Paris, are
undoubtedly
the work of
Roger of
Wendover
for the years
from 1189 to
1235. For
this period he
forms the
chief author-
ity.

"About this
time" =
summer of
1214.

24. The Winning of Magna Carta (1215)

Of a conference held by the barons against king John

ABOUT this time the earls and barons of England assembled at St. Edmund's, as if for religious duties, although it was for some other reason; for after they had discoursed together secretly for a time, there was placed before them the charter of king Henry the First, which they had received, as mentioned before, in the city of London from Stephen archbishop of Canterbury. This charter contained certain liberties and laws granted to the holy church as well as to the nobles of the kingdom besides some liberties which the king added of his own accord. All therefore assembled in the church of St. Edmund, the king and martyr, and, commencing from those of the highest rank, they all swore on the great altar that, if the king refused to grant these liberties and laws, they themselves would withdraw from their allegiance to him, and make war on him, till he should, by a charter under his own seal, confirm to them every thing they required; and finally it was unanimously agreed that, after Christmas, they should all go together to the king and demand the confirmation of the aforesaid liberties to them, and that they should in the meantime provide themselves with horses and arms, so that if the king should endeavour to depart from his oath, they might by taking his castles, compel him to satisfy their demands; and having arranged this, each man returned home. . . .

Of the demand made by the barons of England for their rights

A.D. 1215 ; which was the seventeenth year of the reign of king John ; he held his court at Winchester at Christmas for one day, after which he hurried to London, and took up his abode at the New Temple ; and at that place the above-mentioned nobles came to him in gay military array, and demanded the confirmation of the liberties and laws of king Edward, with other liberties granted to them and to the kingdom and church of England, as were contained in the charter, and above-mentioned laws of Henry the First ; they also asserted that, at the time of his absolution at Winchester, he had promised to restore those laws and ancient liberties, and was bound by his own oath to observe them. The king, hearing the bold tone of the barons in making this demand, much feared an attack from them, as he saw that they were prepared for battle ; he however made answer that their demands were a matter of importance and difficulty, and he therefore asked a truce till the end of Easter, that he might, after due deliberation, be able to satisfy them as well as the dignity of his crown. After much discussion on both sides, the king at length, although unwillingly, procured the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and William Marshal, as his sureties, that on the day pre-agreed on he would, in all reason, satisfy them all, on which the nobles returned to their homes. The king however, wishing to take precautions against the future, caused all the nobles throughout England to swear fealty to him alone against all men, and to renew their homage to him ; and, the better to take care of himself, he, on the day of St. Mary's purification, assumed the cross of our Lord, being induced to this more by fear than devotion. . . .

Jan. 16, 1215

The crusader's vow which conferred special sanctity.

Of the principal persons who compelled the king to grant the laws and liberties

In Easter week of this same year, the above-mentioned nobles assembled at Stamford, with horses and arms; for they had now induced almost all the nobility of the whole kingdom to join them, and constituted a very large army; for in their army there were computed to be two thousand knights, besides horse soldiers, attendants, and foot soldiers, who were variously equipped. . . . The king at this time was awaiting the arrival of his nobles at Oxford. On the Monday next after the octaves of Easter, the said barons assembled in the town of Brackley: and when the king learned this, he sent the archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marshal earl of Pembroke, with some other prudent men, to them to inquire what the laws and liberties were which they demanded. The barons then delivered to the messengers a paper, containing in great measure the laws and ancient customs of the kingdom, and declared that, unless the king immediately granted them and confirmed them under his own seal, they would, by taking possession of his fortresses, force him to give them sufficient satisfaction as to their before-named demands. The archbishop with his fellow messengers then carried the paper to the king, and read to him the heads of the paper one by one throughout. The king when he heard the purport of these heads, derisively said, with the greatest indignation, "Why, amongst these unjust demands, did not the barons ask for my kingdom also? Their demands are vain and visionary, and are unsupported by any plea of reason whatever." And at length he angrily declared with an oath, that he would never grant them such liberties as would render him their slave. The principal of these laws and liberties, which the nobles required to be confirmed to them, are partly described above in the charter of king Henry, and

partly are extracted from the old laws of king Edward, as the following history will show in due time.

King
Edward the
Confessor.

The castle of Northampton besieged by the barons

As the archbishop and William Marshal could not by any persuasions induce the king to agree to their demands, they returned by the king's order to the barons, and duly reported all they had heard from the king to them ; and when the nobles heard what John said, they appointed Robert Fitz-Walter commander of their soldiers, giving him the title of " Marshal of the army of God and the holy church," and then, one and all flying to arms, they directed their forces towards Northampton. On their arrival there they at once laid siege to the castle, but after having stayed there for fifteen days, and having gained little or no advantage, they determined to move their camp ; for having come without petrarys and other engines of war, they, without accomplishing their purpose, proceeded in confusion to the castle of Bedford. . . .

Engines for
throwing
stones.

How the city of London was given up to the barons

When the army of the barons arrived at Bedford, they were received with all respect by William de Beauchamp. There also came to them there messengers from the city of London, secretly telling them, if they wished to get into that city, to come there immediately. The barons, inspirited by the arrival of this agreeable message, immediately moved their camp and arrived at Ware ; after this they marched the whole night, and arrived early in the morning at the city of London, and, finding the gates open, they, on the 24th of May, which was the Sunday next before our Lord's ascension, entered the city without any tumult whilst the inhabitants were performing divine service ; for the rich citizens were favourable to the barons, and the poor ones were afraid to

The adhesion
of London
turned the
scale, and
was followed
by a great
defection
from the
king's
followers.

murmur against them. The barons having thus got into the city, placed their own guards in charge of each of the gates, and then arranged all matters in the city at will. They then took security from the citizens, and sent letters through England to those earls, barons, and knights, who appeared to be still faithful to the king, though they only pretended to be so, and advised them with threats, as they regarded the safety of all their property and possessions, to abandon a king who was perjured and who warred against his barons, and together with them to stand firm and fight against the king for their rights and for peace; and that, if they refused to do this, they, the barons, would make war against them all, as against open enemies, and would destroy their castles, burn their houses and other buildings, and destroy their warrens, parks, and orchards. . . . The greatest part of these, on receiving the message of the barons, set out to London and joined them, abandoning the king entirely. . . .

The conference between the king and the barons

King John, when he saw that he was deserted by almost all, so that out of his regal superabundance of followers he scarcely retained seven knights, was much alarmed lest the barons would attack his castles and reduce them without difficulty, as they would find no obstacle to their so doing; and he deceitfully pretended to make peace for a time with the aforesaid barons, and sent William Marshal earl of Pembroke, with other trustworthy messengers, to them, and told them that, for the sake of peace, and for the exaltation and honour of the kingdom, he would willingly grant them the laws and liberties they required; he also sent word to the barons by these same messengers, to appoint a fitting day and place to meet and carry all these matters into effect. The king's messengers then came in all haste to London, and without deceit reported to the barons all that had been

deceitfully imposed on them; they in their great joy appointed the fifteenth of June for the king to meet them, at a field lying between Staines and Windsor. Accordingly, at the time and place pre-agreed on, the king and nobles came to the appointed conference, and when each party had stationed themselves apart from the other, they began a long discussion about terms of peace and the aforesaid liberties. . . . At length, after various points on both sides had been discussed, king John, seeing that he was inferior in strength to the barons, without raising any difficulty, granted the underwritten laws and liberties, and confirmed them by his charter as follows : —

(Here follows the Great Charter.)

How the king of England by letters patent ordered the aforesaid liberties to be observed

After this king John sent his letters patent throughout all the English territories, strictly ordering all the sheriffs of the whole kingdom to make the inhabitants in their jurisdictions of every rank, swear to observe the above-written laws and liberties, and also, as far as lay in their power, to annoy and harass him, the king, by taking his castles till he fulfilled all the above-mentioned terms, as contained in the charter. After which, many nobles of the kingdom came to the king asking him for their rights of land and possessions, and the custody of the castles, which, as they said, belonged to them by hereditary right; but the king delayed this matter till it was proved on the oath of liege men, what of right was due to each; and, the more fully to effect this, he fixed the 16th of August as a day for them all to come to Westminster. Nevertheless he restored to Stephen archbishop of Canterbury the castle of Rochester and the Tower of London, which by old right belonged to his custody: and then

Runnymede
on the
Thames.

For text of
Charter,
Latin :
W. Stubbs,
*Select Char-
ters*; Eng-
lish: *Old
South Leaf-
lets*, No. 5.

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breaking up the conference, the barons returned with the above-named charter to London.

Roger of Wendover, *Chronica Majora* (translated by J. A. Giles, London, 1849), II, 303-324.



25. England in 1257

By MATTHEW PARIS
(† 1259),
monk, traveler,
courtier,
and most famous
member of
the group of
historians
connected
with the
abbey of
St. Albans.
Through his
constant
intercourse
with the lead-
ing men in
Church and
State, Mat-
thew was in
the centre of
public activi-
ties. His
Chronicle is
the best
authority on
affairs in
England, and
affords much
information
concerning
continental
matters.
Matthew's
sympathies
were with the
national
movement
against
Henry III

How the abbats of the Cistercian order were convoked by royal warrant

At the Epiphany of our Lord, the king, little heeding the heavy rains, the violence of the winds, the turbid state of the rivers, or the trouble and fatigue that would be incurred, convoked the abbats of the Cistercian order to assemble at London, to hear his royal commands. They therefore came, as they were obliged so to do, although wretchedly harassed, and hopeless of mercy; and on their coming before the king, he at once urgently demanded of them pecuniary assistance to a large amount. To this demand they all, as if animated by one spirit, unanimously replied that they would not and could not do so without the general consent of their chapter, or at least without the common consent of all the abbats of the Cistercian order in England, who were not then present. As they all departed without fixing a day on which all could meet together, the king, with great rancour, gave orders that no favour should be shown to the Cistercian abbats; and thus he gave tacit permission to the sheriffs, foresters, and other royal agents (who were ready enough at extortion, without any order from the king), to injure and harass all the abbats of the Cistercian order in their vicinity, on any pretence they could devise.

How the king refused to accept of the elected bishop of Ely

About this time, the monks of Ely duly elected their sub-prior, a proper and irreproachable man, to the office of bishop of Ely and as pastor of their souls, refusing to comply with the wishes of the king, who had urged his entreaties, both by letter and by special messengers, in favour of another person. The king therefore, being highly incensed, gave the charge of that church to John Walerann, which was like intrusting a lamb to a famishing wolf ; and he at once felled their woods, impoverished their dependants, and injured the monks themselves to such a degree, that all fear of God and reverence for the saints was laid aside, and everything was exposed to peril and ruin, and the church was reduced to the most abject state of slavery, and was open to the attacks of invading plunderers.

Of the arrival of the archbishop of Messina, and of the powers with which he was invested

In this year, on the approach of Lent, the archbishop of Messina was sent by the pope (for what reason it was not known), and arrived with a large retinue of brethren of the Preacher order, mounted on horses. As he had letters from the pope authorizing him to levy and receive procurations, and to inflict heavy punishment on all gainsayers and opposers, he sent an imperious letter to each of the prelates, ordering them to furnish him with procurations to the amount fixed on by him ; and from the house of St. Alban's, and a monastery dependent on it, he extorted twenty-one marks. The monks of St. Alban's, too, having gone with all civility to visit him at his abode, he would not allow them to leave, but detained them like prisoners, to force them to satisfy his avaricious demands ; and on the monks modestly

and the Pope, and he gives a vivid picture of the misrule of the time. This extract is taken from the *Chronica Majora*, or the *Historia Major*. These Chronicles are the work of various hands, but from 1235 to 1259 they are exclusively Matthew's production. — See on this period, W. H. Hutton, *The Misrule of Henry III.*

The king = Henry III.

The Cistercians were famous for their wealth.

Preacher order = Dominican.

replying that they had not a penny with them, the enraged archbishop insolently replied, "Why are you so beggarly? send, then, for some merchant who will lend you some money." And this they did, as they were under compulsion; for these monks were not allowed to leave the house, although they were the select brethren of the convent; namely, the arch-deacon of St. Alban's, and John, the abbat's seal-bearer and proctor. This archbishop of Messina was a brother of the order of Preachers, in whom we hoped to have found more humility than he showed. . . .

Of the great parliament, at which Earl Richard bade farewell to the English

At Mid-Lent of this same year, a great parliament was held, . . . Earl Richard, the newly-elected king of Germany, was also present at this parliament for the purpose of bidding farewell to the general community of England; in fact almost the whole of the nobility of England were present thereat. . . .

How the king asked assistance for his son Edmund

Before the aforesaid parliament broke up, the king brought his son Edmund, dressed in the Apulian fashion, before the assembly, and pointing him out to them, said in the hearing of all, "You see, my faithful subjects, my son Edmund, whom the Lord, of his spontaneous favour, has called to the kingly dignity. How evidently worthy he is of the favour of all of you! and how inhuman, how tyrannical would he be, who could refuse him seasonable and effectual aid and counsel in this crisis!" and he added that, by the advice and good-will of the pope and the English church, he had, for the sake of obtaining the kingdom of Sicily, bound himself, under penalty of losing his

In 1257, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and brother of Henry III, was chosen king of the Romans by the German electors.

One of the complaints against Henry was that he had foolishly involved England in the Pope's quarrels by accepting for his son Edmund the crown of Sicily.

kingdom, to the payment of a hundred and forty thousand marks, exclusive of interest, which daily increased, although without being apparent. Also, that he had obtained, for five ensuing years, the tithes to be levied from all the clergy in general, that is to say, from all their benefices, which were to be computed according to the new mode of taxation, without deducting any expenses save those which were incurred necessarily. Also, the profits of all ecclesiastical benefices vacated during the first year, and till the completion of the five years. This speech made the ears of all tingle, and struck fear to their hearts, especially as they knew that this tyranny took its rise from the pope. Although they set forth excuses and asked for time to be allowed them, they could not even obtain that favour, and were at length compelled to give a promise of relieving the king's pressing necessities, on the condition, however, that he would from that time forth observe inviolate the great charter, which he had so often promised to do, and which had been so often bought and rebought by them; and that he would refrain from injuring and impoverishing them on so many specious pretexts. On these conditions they promised the king fifty-two thousand marks, though to the irreparable injury of the English church; yet the king is said not to have accepted of such a rich gift even as this.

A calculation of the money uselessly expended by the king

At this time the clerks of the king's chamber examined all the finance registers, and having made a strict calculation of the amount expended, it was proved by them, and they were worthy of belief, that since the king had commenced plundering and wasting the wealth of his kingdom, he had expended nine hundred and fifty thousand marks, which it was dreadful to think of; . . .

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How the prelates of England promised a large sum of money to the king on certain conditions

About this same time the prelates of England, who had become weak and timid (not imitating the constancy of the Cistercians, who gave a flat refusal to the king in person when he demanded a large sum of money), granted to the king the sum of forty-two thousand marks, to the enormous and irreparable injury of the Church and the kingdom; and this sum was granted to the king or to his son Edmund, for the purpose of obtaining possession of the kingdom of Apulia; though the acquisition of that kingdom was more and more despaired of every day. The king, who was but little satisfied with this gift, promised that he would, as soon as possible, moderate the Church's oppressions, and restore her to her proper state of liberty. . . .

How the king of England made preparations for an expedition to Wales

About the same time the king issued his warrants throughout all England, calling on each and every one who owed knightly service to their lord and king to be ready and prepared, provided with horses and arms, to follow him into Wales, on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, whither he was about to proceed on an expedition to check their violence; as they were roving about at will, seizing the castles of the frontier nobles, and even those of the English, with impunity, putting the garrisons to death, and spreading fire, slaughter, and incendiarism in all directions. The Welsh, thereon, learning that the king intended to take the field against them with his army, prudently sent away their wives, children, and flocks into the interior of the country, about Snowdon and other mountainous places inaccessible to the English, ploughed up their fields, destroyed the mills in the road which the English would take, carried away all kinds

of provisions, broke down the bridges, and rendered the fords impassable by digging holes, in order that, if the enemy attempted to cross, they might be drowned. Fortune favoured them in this war; for their cause appeared, even to their enemies, to be just; and what chiefly supported and encouraged them was the thought that, like the Trojans (from whom they were descended), they were struggling, with a firmness worthy of their descent, for their ancestral laws and liberties. Woe to the wretched English, who, trodden underfoot by every foreigner, allowed the ancient liberties of their kingdom to be extinguished, and were not put to shame by the example of the Welsh. . . .

How the king returned from Wales without having performed any remarkable achievement

At the decline of autumn, as the approaching winter had shortened the days and brought on cold, and as the greatest scarcity prevailed in his army, the king, by the advice of his especial counsellors, who could ill bear this state of want, took his departure from Chester, and returned towards London, to be present at the festival of the Translation of St. Edward. Llewellyn, on hearing of this, followed him in pursuit for a long time, for the purpose of attacking and slaying any stragglers from the king's army. Thus, after expending a great deal of money, the king returned ingloriously, and followed by the derisive sneers of the enemy to his own country, which was a place of greater safety for him. . . .

Llewellyn,
Prince of
Wales.

The summary of the year

This year throughout was barren and meagre; for whatever had been sown in winter, had budded in spring, and grown ripe in summer, was stifled and destroyed by the autumnal inundations. The scarcity of money, brought on

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by the spoliation practised by the king and the pope in England, brought on unusual poverty. The land lay uncultivated, and great numbers of people died from starvation. About Christmas, the price of a measure of wheat rose to ten shillings. Apples were scarce, pears more so; figs, beechnuts, cherries, plums—in short, all fruits which are preserved in jars, were completely spoiled. This pestiferous year, moreover, gave rise to mortal fevers, which raged to such an extent that, not to mention other cases, at St. Edmund's alone more than two thousand dead bodies were placed in the large cemetery during the summer, the largest portion of them during the dog-days. There were old men, who had formerly seen a measure of wheat sold for a mark, and even twenty shillings, without the people being starved to death. . . .

Matthew Paris. *Chronica Majora* (translated by J. A. Giles, London, 1854), III, 214-256.

26. The Battle of Evesham 1265)

. . . Simon, earl of Leicester, always keeping the king in his company, returned from the south of Wales, and on the festival of St. Peter ad Vincula, arrived at Kempsey, a manor of the bishop of Worcester, and stayed there on the day following. Edward then returned from Kenilworth to Worcester, which is only three miles distant from the above-named manor; and Simon, on hearing of his arrival there, went away with the king at nightfall, and took up his quarters in the town of Evesham, where he awaited his unhappy destiny. For on the morrow, which was the day of the Finding of St. Stephen, Edward moved from Worcester, crossed the river near the town of Claines, and cut off the approach of the earl to his son, who was in the castle

Probably by
WILLIAM
RISHANGER
(†1312?), a
monk of St.
Albans. The
work from
which the
following
extract was
taken was
doubtless in-
tended as a
continuation
of the Chron-
icle of Mat-
thew Paris,
and covers
the period
from 1259 to
1306.

of Kenilworth, and prevented all chance of the father and son meeting. On the following day he drew near the town of Evesham on one side, and the earl of Gloucester and Roger Mortimer came up with their respective forces in two other directions; and thus the earl of Leicester was hemmed in on all sides, and was under the necessity either of voluntarily surrendering, or of giving them battle. On the 5th of August, which fell on the third day of the week, both armies met in a large plain outside the town, where a most severe conflict ensued, till the partisans of the earl began to give way, and the whole weight of the battle falling upon him he was slain on the field of battle. At the time of his death, a storm of thunder and lightning occurred, and darkness prevailed to such an extent, that all were struck with amazement. Besides the earl, there fell, in that battle, twelve knights bannerets; namely, Henry, his son; Peter de Montfort; Hugh Despenser, justiciary of England; William de Mandeville; Ralph Basset; Walter de Crespigny; William York; Robert Tregor; Thomas Hostelee; John Beauchamp; Guy Balliol; Roger de Roulee; and a great number of others of inferior rank, such as esquires and foot-soldiers; the greatest loss being amongst the Welsh. Thus ended the labours of that noble man Earl Simon, who gave up not only his property, but also his person, to defend the poor from oppression, and for the maintenance of justice and the rights of the kingdom. He was distinguished for his learning; to him an assiduous attention to divine duties was a pleasure; he was moderate and frugal; and it was a usual practice of his to watch by night, in preference to sleeping. He was bold in speech, and of a severe aspect; he put great confidence in the prayers of religious men, and always paid great respect to ecclesiastics. . . .

After gaining this lamentable victory, Edward, after the battle, gave orders to the monks of that place to bury the

After Lewes the king was practically a prisoner.

Prince Edward, taken captive at Lewes, had made his escape.

De Montfort had gained the support of the Welsh.

The sympathies of the clergy were with De Montfort and he appears to advantage in the chronicles of the time.

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bodies of the dead, especially those of the higher orders, with decency. He himself attended, in person, the obsequies of Henry de Montfort, whom the king his father had held at the font when he was baptized, and who had been brought up with, and beloved by, himself from boyhood. Before the above battle, as some say, Simon having gone out of the town of Evesham, and seen with what prudence and skill the ranks of his adversaries were drawn up, said to his companions, "By St. James's arm" (such was his usual oath), "they are approaching with wisdom, and they have learned this method from me, not of themselves. Let us, therefore, commend our souls to God, for our bodies are theirs." He also urged Hugh Despenser, Ralph Basset, and others, to fly and save themselves for better times; but they said that they would not live if he died. After he was killed [his enemies] cut off his head, feet, and hands, contrary to all the laws of the knightly order; and his head was presented to the wife of Roger Mortimer, who was staying in the castle of Worcester. In this battle the king was wounded by a spear inadvertently hurled at him, and was in danger of losing his life. By this victory over his enemies, the king was re-established in his royal authority . . .

W. Rishanger, *Chronica Majora* (translated by J. A. Giles, London, 1854), III, 354-356.

ANONY-
MOUS. "A
striking fea-
ture of the
period of
Henry III's
misgovern-
ment and the
Barons' War
was the out-

27. The Lament of Earl Simon (1265)

1. Sing must I now, my heart wills so,
Altho' my tongue be rude,
With tearful thought, this song was wrought,
Of England's barons good:

Lament of Earl Simon 87

Who for the peace, made long ago,
Went gladly to the grave,
Their bodies gashed and scarred and slashed,
Our English land to save.

Refrain — Now low there lies, the flower of price,
That knew so much of war,
The Earl Montfort, whose luckless sort
The land shall long deplore.

2. On a Tuesday, as I heard say,
The battle it was fought,
From horseback all they fight and fall,
Of footmen had they nought.
Full cruelly they struck that day
All with the brandished brand,
But in the end Sir Edward's men
They got the upper hand.

Refrain.

3. But by his death earl Simon hath
In sooth the victory won,
Like Canterbury's martyr he
There to the death was done.
Thomas the good, that never would
Let holy Church be tried,
Like him he fought and flinching not
The good earl like him died.

Refrain.

4. Death did they face to keep in place
Both righteousness and peace,
Wherefore the saint from sin and taint
Shall give their souls release ;
They faced the grave that they might save
The people of this land,
For so his will they did fulfill,
As we do understand.

Refrain.

burst of song
on political
and social
evils." Most
of these songs
favour the
popular side,
and were
probably the
production
of the Grey
Friars. The
song given
here was
written
apparently
soon after the
battle of
Evesham.

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See No. 26.

The young
Earl of
Gloucester
was popularly
held respon-
sible for
Simon's
overthrow
and death.

5. Next to the skin when they stripped him
They found a shirt of hair,
Those felons strong that wrought the wrong,
And foully slew him there ;
But worse their sin to mangle him,
A man that was so good,
That how to fight and keep the right
So truly understood. *Refrain.*

6. Sir Hugh the proud, Dispenser good,
That noble judge and wise,
So wrongfully was doomed to die
In very evil guise ;
Sir Henry too, I tell you true,*
The earl of Lincoln's son,
Others also earl Gloucester slew,
As ye shall hear anon. *Refrain.*

7. No earl or lord but sore hath erred
And done things men must blame,
Both squire and knight have wrought un-right,
They all are put to shame.
Through them, in sooth, both faith and truth
Are perished from this land,
The wicked men unchecked may reign
The fool in folly stand. *Refrain.*

8. Sir Simon now, that knight so true,
With all his company,
Are gone above to joy and love
In life that cannot die ;
But may our Lord that died on rood
And God send succour yet
To them that lie in misery,
Fast in hard prison set ! *Refrain.*

Summoning of Parliament 89

9. Wherefore I pray, sweet friends alway
 Seek of Saint Mary's Son,
That He may lead to His high meed
 Him that this rime hath done ;
I will not name the scholar's name,
 I would not have it known
For love of Him, that saves from sin,
 Pray for clerks all and one. *Refrain.*

Political Songs (edited by T. Wright, London, 1839), 125. Version by F. York Powell (*Simon de Montfort and his Cause*, edited by W. H. Hutton, London, 1888, 166-168).

28. The Summoning of the Parliament of 1295

By
EDWARD I
(1239-1307).

The King to the venerable father in Christ, Robert, by the same grace Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, greeting. As a most just law, established by the careful providence of sacred princes, exhorts and decrees that what affects all, should be approved by all, so also, very evidently should common danger be met by means provided in common. You know sufficiently well, and it is now, as we believe, known through all regions of the world, how the King of France fraudulently and craftily deprived us of our land of Gascony, by withholding it unjustly from us. Now, however, not satisfied with the aforesaid fraud and injustice, having gathered together for the conquest of our kingdom a very great fleet, and a very large force of warriors, with which he has made a hostile attack on our kingdom and the inhabitants of the kingdom, he now pro-

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poses to stamp out the English language altogether from the earth if his power should be equal to the detestable task of the proposed iniquity, which God forbid. Because, therefore, darts seen beforehand do less injury, and your interest especially, as that of other fellow citizens of the same realm, is concerned in this affair, we command you, strictly enjoining you in the fidelity and love in which you are bound to us, that on the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Martin, in the approaching winter, you be present in person at Westminster; citing beforehand the dean and chapter of your church, the archdeacons and all the clergy of your diocese, causing the same dean and archdeacons in their own persons, and the said chapter by one suitable proctor, and the said clergy by two, to be present along with you, having full and sufficient power of themselves from the chapter and clergy, for considering, ordaining and providing along with us and with the rest of the prelates and principal men and other inhabitants of our kingdom how the dangers and threatened evils of this kind are to be met. Witness, the King at Wingham, the thirtieth day of September.

The King to his beloved and faithful kinsman, Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, greeting. Because we wish to have a conference and meeting with you and with the rest of the principal men of our kingdom, to provide remedies for the dangers which in these days threaten our whole kingdom; we command you, strictly enjoining you by the fidelity and love in which you are bound to us, that on the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Martin, in the approaching winter, you be present in person at Westminster, for considering, ordaining and doing with us, and with the prelates, and the rest of the magnates and other inhabitants of our kingdom, as may be necessary to meet dangers of this kind. Witness, the King at Canterbury, on the first day of October.

Like summons were sent to the Archbishop of York, to eighteen bishops, and, with the omission of the last paragraph, to seventy abbots and other great churchmen.

Like summons were sent to seven earls and forty-one barons.

Summoning of Parliament 91

The King to the sheriff of Northamptonshire. Since we purpose to have a conference and meeting, with the earls, barons, and other principal men of our kingdom to provide remedies for the dangers which in these days threaten the same kingdom; and on that account, have commanded them to be with us, on the Lord's day next after the feast of St. Martin, in the approaching winter, at Westminster, to consider, ordain, and do, as may be necessary for the avoidance of these dangers; we strictly require you to cause two knights from the aforesaid county, two citizens from each city in the same county, and two burgesses from each borough, of the more discreet and capable, to be elected without delay, and to cause them to come to us, at the aforesaid time and place.

Moreover, the said knights are to have full and sufficient power, for themselves and for the commonalty of the aforesaid county, and the said citizens and burgesses for themselves and for the commonalty of the aforesaid cities and boroughs separately, then and there to do what shall be ordained by the common advice in the premises; so that the aforesaid business shall not remain unfinished in any way for defect of this power. And you shall have there the names of the knights, citizens and burgesses, and this writ.

A like summons was sent to the sheriff of each county.

Witness, the King at Canterbury, on the third day of October.

Select Charters (arranged and edited by W. Stubbs, London, 1870), 484-486. Translation from *Outlines and Documents of English Constitutional History* (edited by C. Wells and F. Anderson, Minneapolis, 1895), 43-45.

CHAPTER VI — THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

29. The Scots in War

By **JEHAN. FROISSART** (1337-1410), a native of Valenciennes, who came to England in the service of Philippa of Hainault, queen of Edward III. Froissart is in nowise a critical historian. He makes no attempt to weigh evidence, and his sympathies were with the English. Nor is he always contemporary authority, although he must have talked with those who were actors in the scenes he describes. But in spite of these limitations his writings have a lasting value as giving a vivid picture of the times. The

THESE Scottish men are right hardy and sore travelling in harness and in wars. For when they will enter into England, within a day and a night they will drive their whole host twenty-four mile, for they are all a-horseback, without it be the trandals and laggars of the host, who follow after afoot. The knights and squires are well horsed, and the common people and other on little hackneys and geldings; and they carry with them no carts nor chariots, for the diversities of the mountains that they must pass through in the country of Northumberland. They take with them no purveyance of bread nor wine, for their usage and soberness is such in time of war, that they will pass in the journey a great long time with flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink of the river water without wine, and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe beasts in their own skins. They are ever sure to find plenty of beasts in the country that they will pass through: therefore they carry with them none other purveyance, but on their horse between the saddle and the panel they truss a broad plate of metal, and behind the saddle they will have a little sack full of oatmeal, to the intent that when they have eaten of the sodden flesh, then they lay this plate on the fire and temper a little of the oatmeal; and when the plate is hot, they cast of the thin paste thereon, and so make a little cake in manner of a cracknell or biscuit, and that they eat to comfort withal their stomachs. Wherefore it is no great marvel

though they make greater journeys than other people do. And in this manner were the Scots entered into the said country, and wasted and brent all about as they went, and took great number of beasts. They were to the number of four thousand men of arms, knights and squires, mounted on good horses, and other ten thousand men of war were armed after their guise, right hardy and fierce, mounted on little hackneys, the which were never tied nor kept at hard meat, but let go to pasture in the fields and bushes. . . .

Froissart, *Chronicles* (translation of Lord Berners, edited by G. C. Macaulay, London, 1895), Ch. XVII.

following extract is based upon the chronicle of Jehan le Bel, a writer of whom little is known. During the civil troubles of 1327 the Scots invaded the north. Jehan le Bel took part in the expedition sent against them.

30. The Battle of Crecy (1346)

The Englishmen, who were in three battles lying on the ground to rest them, as soon as they saw the Frenchmen approach, they rose upon their feet fair and easily without any haste and arranged their battles. The first, which was the prince's battle, the archers there stood in the manner of a herse and the men of arms in the bottom of the battle. The earl of Northampton and the earl of Arundel with the second battle were on a wing in good order, ready to comfort the prince's battle, if need were.

The lords and knights of France came not to the assembly together in good order, for some came before and some came after in such haste and evil order, that one of them did trouble another. When the French king saw the Englishmen, his blood changed, and said to his marshals: 'Make the Genoways go on before and begin the battle in the name of God and Saint Denis.' There were of the Genoways cross-bows about a fifteen thousand, but they were so weary of going afoot that day a six leagues armed with their cross-bows, that they said to their constables:

By JEHAN FROISSART. See No. 29. Although Froissart was but a boy when Crecy was fought, yet he must have known men who took part in the battle, and his descriptions have the life-like touch of the eye-witness. — For the Hundred Years' War, see W. J. Ashley, *Edward the III and his Wars*.

Battle = division or line of battle.

Herse = harrow.

French
king =
Philip VI.

Genoways =
Genoese.

A mistransla-
tion of
"esclistre" =
"lightning."

Mistransla-
tion; should
be "uttered
cries."

'We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the case to do any great deed of arms: we have more need of rest.' These words came to the earl of Alençon, who said: 'A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need.' Also the same season there fell a great rain and aclipse with a terrible thunder, and before the rain there came flying over both battles a great number of crows, for fear of the tempest coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear, and the sun to shine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmen's eyen and on the Englishmen's backs. When the Genoways were assembled together and began to approach, they made a great leap and cry to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not for all that: then the Genoways again the second time made another leap and a fell cry, and stept forward a little, and the Englishmen removed not one foot: thirdly, again they leapt and cried, and went forth till they came within shot; then they shot fiercely with their cross-bows. Then the English archers stept forth one pace and let fly their arrows so wholly [together] and so thick, that it seemed snow. When the Genoways felt the arrows piercing through heads, arms and breasts, many of them cast down their cross-bows and did cut their strings and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them fly away, he said: 'Slay these rascals, for they shall let and trouble us without reason.' Then ye should have seen the men of arms dash in among them and killed a great number of them: and ever still the Englishmen shot whereas they saw thickest press; the sharp arrows ran into the men of arms and into their horses, and many fell, horse and men, among the Genoways, and when they were down, they could not relieve again, the press was so thick that one overthrew another. And also among the Englishmen there were certain rascals that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the men of arms, and slew and mur-

dered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights and squires, whereof the king of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.

The valiant king of Bohemia called Charles of Luxembourg, son to the noble emperor Henry of Luxembourg, for all that he was nigh blind, when he understood the order of the battle, he said to them about him : ' Where is the lord Charles my son ? ' His men said : ' Sir, we cannot tell ; we think he be fighting. ' Then he said : ' Sirs, ye are my men, my companions and friends in this journey : I require you bring me so far forward, that I may strike one stroke with my sword. ' They said they would do his commandment, and to the intent that they should not lose him in the press they tie all their reins of their bridles each to other and set the king before to accomplish his desire, and so they went on their enemies. The lord Charles of Bohemia his son, who wrote himself king of Almaine and bare the arms, he came in good order to the battle ; but when he saw that the matter went awry on their party, he departed, I cannot tell you which way. The king his father was so far forward that he strake a stroke with his sword, yea and more than four, and fought valiantly and so did his company ; and they adventured themselves so forward, that they were all slain, and the next day they were found in the place about the king, and all their horses tied each to other. . . .

Emperor
Charles IV.

This battle between Broye and Cressy this Saturday was right cruel and fell, and many a feat of arms done that came not to my knowledge. In the night divers knights and squires lost their masters, and sometime came on the Englishmen, who received them in such wise that they were ever nigh slain ; for there was none taken to mercy nor to ransom, for so the Englishmen were determined.

In the morning the day of the battle certain Frenchmen and Almains perforce opened the archers of the prince's battle and came and fought with the men of arms hand to

hand. Then the second battle of the Englishmen came to succour the prince's battle, the which was time, for they had as then much ado ; and they with the prince sent a messenger to the king, who was on a little windmill hill. Then the knight said to the king : ' Sir, the earl of Warwick and the earl of Oxford, sir Raynold Cobham and other, such as be about the prince your son, are fiercely fought withal and are sore handled ; wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them ; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado.' Then the king said : ' Is my son dead or hurt or on the earth felled ? ' ' No, sir,' quoth the knight, ' but he is hardly matched ; wherefore he hath need of your aid.' ' Well,' said the king, ' return to him and to them that sent you hither, and say to them that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive : and also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs ; for if God be pleased, I will this journey be his and the honour thereof, and to them that be about him.' Then the knight returned again to them and shewed the king's words, the which greatly encouraged them, and repined in that they had sent to the king as they did. . . .

repined =
repined.

In the evening the French king, who had left about him no more than a three-score persons, one and other, whereof Sir John of Hainault was one, who had remounted once the king, for his horse was slain with an arrow, then he said to the king : ' Sir, depart hence, for it is time ; lose not yourself wilfully : if ye have loss at this time, ye shall recover it again another season.' And so he took the king's horse by the bridle and led him away in a manner perforce. Then the king rode till he came to the castle of Broye. The gate was closed, because it was by that time dark : then the king called the captain, who came to the walls and said : ' Who is that calleth there this time of night ? ' Then the king said : ' Open your gate quickly, for this is the fortune of

Song of Neville's Cross 97

France.' The captain knew then it was the king, and opened the gate and let down the bridge. Then the king entered, and he had with him but five barons, sir John of Hainault, sir Charles of Montmorency, the lord of Beaujeu, the lord d'Aubigny and the lord of Montsault. The king would not tarry there, but drank and departed thence about midnight, and so rode by such guides as knew the country till he came in the morning to Amiens, and there he rested.

This Saturday the Englishmen never departed from their battles for chasing of any man, but kept still their field, and ever defended themselves against all such as came to assail them. This battle ended about evensong time.

Froissart, *Chronicles* (translation of Lord Berners, edited by G. C. Macaulay, London, 1895), Ch. CXXX.

31. The Song of Neville's Cross (1346)

Sir David had of his men great loss
With sir Edward at Neville's Cross.

* * * * *

Sir David the Bruce,
Would strive, did he say,
To ride through all England,
For naught would he stay.

At Westminster Hall
Should his steeds stand
Whilst our king Edward
Was out of the land.

But now hath sir David
Missed of his marks,
And Philip of Valois
With all their great clerks.

By LAW-
RENCE
MINOT, a
professional
song-writer
of the
fourteenth
century.

David Bruce,
King of
Scotland.

Edward was
in France
besieging
Calais.

Philip VI
of France.

Sir Philip the Valois,
Sooth for to say,
Sent unto Sir David
And fair 'gan him pray,

To ride through all England
Their foemen to slay,
And said "none is at home
To hinder the way."

None hinders his way
To wend where he will,
But with shepherds' staves
Found he his fill.

From Philip the Valois
Was sir David sent,
All England to win,
From Tweed unto Trent.

He brought many bagmen,
Ready bent was their bow,
They robbed and they ravaged
And nought they let go.

* * * * *

But shamed were the knaves
And sad must they feel,
For at Neville's Cross
Needs must they kneel.

Of the archbishop of York
Now will I begin,
For he may with his right hand
Absolve us of sin.

The arch-
bishop of
York com-
manded a
division of
the English.

Song of Neville's Cross 99

Both Durham and Carlisle
They would never blin
The worship of England
With weapons to win.

I.e. cease.

Mickle worship they won,
And well have they waken,
For sir David the Bruce
Was in that time taken.

The Scottish
king was
taken
prisoner.

When sir David the Bruce
Sat on his steed,
He said of all England
Had he no dread.

But brave John of Copland,
A man gay in weed,
Talked to sir David
And learned him his creed.

There was sir David,
So doughty in deed,
The fair town of London
Had he as his meed.

Soon was sir David
Brought into the Tower,
And William the Douglas,
With men of honour.

* * * * *

Sir David the Bruce
Maketh his moan,
The fair crown of Scotland
All hath he foregone.

100 Hundred Years' War

He looked unto France
And help had he none
Of sir Philip the Valois
Nor yet of sir John.

Eldest son of
the French
king.

* * * *

The Scots with their falsehood
Thus went they about
All for to win England
Whilst Edward was out.

Lawrence Minot, *Song of Neville's Cross* (*Political Poems*, edited by T. Wright, London, 1859, I, 83). Version by W. J. Ashley, *Edward III, and his Wars* (London, 1887), 112-115.



The accompanying extract is taken from a document of the fourteenth century, giving a full statement of the extent and value of the manor of Borley in Essex, with a list of the tenants, their holdings, dues, and services. The account is based on the testimony of sworn men of the manor. Through this document we have a view of the industrial organi-

32. A Customary Tenant in the Reign of Edward II

Walter Johan holds from the lord in villenage one messuage and 10 acres of land by paying thence yearly at the festival of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, of Hunthield, 4s. 5½d.; and at Easter, 20½d.; and at the feast of St. Michael, 26½d.; and at the feast of Christmas, 1 hen and a half, the hen being of the price of 1½d. And from the feast of St. Michael (September 29) to the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (August 1) in each week 3 works with one man without the food of the lord, the price of a work being ½d., three weeks being excepted, that is to say, Christmas week, Easter week and Whitsuntide, in which they will not work unless it is absolutely required by the necessity for binding the grain in autumn and for carrying hay. And he shall plough with his plough, whether he has to join or not, 4 acres of the land of the lord without the

food of the lord, the price of each acre being $5\frac{1}{4}$ d., of which 2 acres are to be in the season for planting wheat and 2 for oats. And he shall carry the manure of the lord of the manor with his horse and cart at the food of the lord ; that is, each day a loaf and a half of rye bread, of the size of 40 loaves to the quarter, and to weed the grain of the lord so long as there shall be any weeding to be done, and it shall be reckoned in his services. And he ought to mow the meadow of the lord ; that is to say, 1 acre and the third part of an acre, according to suitable measure. And it will be reckoned in his services, that is for each acre, 3 works.

And it is to be known that whenever he, along with the other customary tenants of the vill, shall mow the meadow of Rainholm, they shall have, according to custom, 3 bushels of wheat for bread and 1 ram of the price of 18d., and 1 jar of butter, and 1 cheese next to the best from the dairy of the lord, and salt and oatmeal for their porridge, and all the morning milk from all the cows of the whole dairy at that time. And he shall toss, carry and pile the said acre and a half of hay, and shall carry it to the manor, and it will be reckoned in his works. And he shall have for each work of mowing as much of the green grass, when he shall have mowed it, as he shall be able to carry on the point of his scythe. And when he has carried the said hay he shall have, at the end of the said carrying, the body of his cart full of hay. And he shall reap in autumn from the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (August 1) to the feast of St. Michael (September 29) through the whole autumn, 24 works, without food from the lord, the price of one work being 1d. And he shall carry the grain of the lord and pile it, and it shall be accounted for in his works. And he shall have as often as he carries, one bundle called the mensheaf ; and he shall haul with his horse twelve leagues around the manor as much as the weight of 2 bushels of salt or of 3 bushels of wheat, or rye, of peas, or of beans ; and of oats, 4

zation of a mediæval manor. The selected extract shows the position of a member of the most numerous class of tenants, villains holding a limited extent of land on condition of certain services and payments fixed by custom.

The complexity and wastefulness of the manorial labour system is plainly shown here. — See, on the manor, University of Pennsylvania, *Translations and Reprints*, III, 5.

bushels. And he ought to go for the said grain and bring it to the granary of the lord with the aforesaid horse and his own sack. And he shall have as often as he hauls as much oats as he is able to measure and carry in the palm of his hand three times. And if he shall not have carried he is not to give anything, but there will be appointed in the place of each carrying one work of the price of a half penny. And he shall give aid and must attend the court. And he shall give merchet on the marriage of his daughter, at the will of the lord.

I.e., yard or small enclosure.

The same Walter holds one toft which contains 2 acres of land. And he shall perform in each week, from the feast of the Trinity to the first of August, 2 works, the price of a work being a half penny. And for a half toft in each week during the same period, 1 work, the price as above. And from the first of August to the feast of St. Michael in each week, 1 work and a half, without the food of the lord, the price of a work being 1d. And he shall have a bundle called the tofsheaf, as large as he is able to bind in a band cut off and not uprooted nor extracted from the earth along with its roots.

Contemporary Document. Translated and edited by E. P. Cheyney, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, IV, 282-284.

33. The Foul Death (1349)

By HENRY KNIGHTON, a canon of Leicester in the fourteenth century. Contemporary accounts of the visitation of the plague in 1348 and

Then the grievous plague penetrated the seacoasts from Southampton, and came to Bristol, and there almost the whole strength of the town died, struck as it were by sudden death; for there were few who kept their beds more than three days, or two days, or half a day; and after this the fell death broke forth on every side with the course of the

sun. There died at Leicester in the small parish of S. Leonard more than 380, in the parish of Holy Cross more than 400; in the parish of S. Margaret of Leicester more than 700; and so in each parish a great number. Then the bishop of Lincoln sent through the whole bishopric, and gave general power to all and every priest, both regular and secular, to hear confessions, and absolve with full and entire episcopal authority except in matters of debt, in which case the dying man, if he could, should pay the debt while he lived, or others should certainly fulfil that duty from his property after his death. Likewise, the pope granted full remission of all sins to whoever was absolved in peril of death, and granted that this power should last till next Easter, and everyone could choose a confessor at his will. In the same year there was a great plague of sheep everywhere in the realm, so that in one place there died in one pasturage more than 5,000 sheep, and so rotted that neither beast nor bird would touch them. And there were small prices for everything on account of the fear of death. For there were very few who cared about riches or anything else. For a man could have a horse, which before was worth 40s., for 6s. 8d., a fat ox for 4s., a cow for 12d., a heifer for 6d., a fat wether for 4d., a sheep for 3d., a lamb for 2d., a big pig for 5d., a stone of wool for 9d. Sheep and cattle went wandering over fields and through crops, and there was no one to go and drive or gather them, so that the number cannot be reckoned which perished in the ditches in every district, for lack of herdsmen; for there was such a lack of servants that no one knew what he ought to do. In the following autumn no one could get a reaper for less than 8d. with his food, a mower for less than 12d. with his food. Wherefore many crops perished in the fields for want of some one to gather them; but in the pestilence year, as is above said of other things, there was such abundance of all kinds of corn that no one troubled about it.

1349 are exceedingly few and meagre. Knighton's description may be accepted as correct in the main, and gives a vivid picture of the condition of the country. It is taken from Knighton's great work, a *History of England*.

It is estimated that wages rose from 50 to 100 per cent.

The Scots, hearing of the cruel pestilence of the English, believed it had come to them from the avenging hand of God, and — as it was commonly reported in England — took for their oath when they wanted to swear, “By the foul death of England.” But when the Scots, believing the English were under the shadow of the dread vengeance of God, came together in the forest of Selkirk, with purpose to invade the whole realm of England, the fell mortality came upon them, and the sudden and awful cruelty of death winnowed them, so that about 5,000 died in a short time. Then the rest, some feeble, some strong, determined to return home, but the English followed and overtook them and killed many of them.

Master Thomas of Bradwardine was consecrated by the pope archbishop of Canterbury, and when he returned to England he came to London, but within two days was dead. He was famous beyond all other clerks in the whole of Christendom, especially in theology, but likewise in the other liberal sciences. At the same time priests were in such poverty everywhere that many churches were widowed and lacking the divine offices, masses, mattins, vespers, sacraments, and other rites. A man could scarcely get a chaplain under £10 or 10 marks to minister to a church. And when a man could get a chaplain for 5 or 4 marks or even for two marks with his food when there was an abundance of priests before the pestilence, there was scarcely anyone now who was willing to accept a vicarage for £20 or 20 marks; but within a short time a very great multitude of those whose wives had died in the pestilence flocked into orders, of whom many were illiterate and little more than laymen, except so far as they knew how to read although they could not understand.

Meanwhile the king sent proclamation into all the counties that reapers and other labourers should not take more than they had been accustomed to take, under the penalty

In 1349 a royal ordinance to this effect was

appointed by statute. But the labourers were so lifted up and obstinate that they would not listen to the king's command, but if anyone wished to have them he had to give them what they wanted, and either lose his fruit and crops, or satisfy the lofty and covetous wishes of the workmen. And when it was known to the king that they had not observed his command, and had given greater wages to the labourers, he levied heavy fines upon abbots, priors, knights, greater and lesser, and other great folk and small folk of the realm, of some 100s., of some 40s., of some 20s., from each according to what he could give. He took from each carucate of the realm 20s., and, notwithstanding this, a fifteenth. And afterwards the king had many labourers arrested, and sent them to prison; many withdrew themselves and went into the forests and woods; and those who were taken were heavily fined. Their ringleaders were made to swear that they would not take daily wages beyond the ancient custom, and then were freed from prison. And in like manner was done with the other craftsmen in the boroughs and villages. . . . After the aforesaid pestilence, many buildings, great and small, fell into ruins in every city, borough, and village for lack of inhabitants, likewise many villages and hamlets became desolate, not a house being left in them, all having died who dwelt there; and it was probable that many such villages would never be inhabited. In the winter following there was such a want of servants in work of all kinds, that one would scarcely believe that in times past there had been such a lack. . . . And so all necessities became so much dearer that what in times past had been worth a penny, was then worth 4d. or 5d.

Magnates and lesser lords of the realm who had tenants made abatements of the rent in order that the tenants should not go away on account of the want of servants and the general dearness, some half the rent, some more, some less, some for two years, some for three, some for one year,

issued. Two years later the first Statute of Labourers was passed.

A hundred acres.

according as they could agree with them. Likewise, those who received of their tenants daywork throughout the year, as is the practice with villeins, had to give them more leisure, and remit such works, and either entirely to free them, or give them an easier tenure at a small rent, so that homes should not be everywhere irrecoverably ruined, and the land everywhere remain entirely uncultivated.

Henry Knighton, *History of England* (Hearne, *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Decum*, London, 1652), 2599. Translation by W. J. Ashley, *Edward III and his Wars* (London, 1887), 122-127.

34. The Peasants' Rising of 1381

By JEHAN FROISSART.
See No. 29.
The account here given of the popular rising of 1381 is from the point of view of the ruling classes, and is unsympathetic, although on the whole correct as to facts. — On the Peasants' Rising, see University of Pennsylvania, *Translations and Reprints*, II, 5; G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*.

See No. 32.

In the mean season while this treaty was, there fell in England great mischief and rebellion of moving of the common people, by which deed England was at a point to have been lost without recovery. There was never realm nor country in so great adventure as it was in that time, and all because of the ease and riches that the common people were of, which moved them to this rebellion, as sometime they did in France, the which did much hurt, for by such incidents the realm of France hath been greatly grieved.

It was a marvellous thing and of poor foundation that this mischief began in England, and to give ensample to all manner of people I will speak thereof as it was done, as I was informed, and of the incidents thereof. There was an usage in England, and yet is in divers countries, that the noblemen hath great franchise over the commons and keepeth them in servage, that is to say, their tenants ought by custom to labour the lords' lands, to gather and bring home their corns, and some to thresh and to fan, and by servage to make their hay and to hew their wood and bring it home. All these things they ought to do by servage, and

there be more of these people in England than in any other realm. Thus the noblemen and prelates are served by them, and especially in the county of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Bedford. These unhappy people of these said countries began to stir, because they said they were kept in great servage, and in the beginning of the world, they said, there were no bondmen, wherefore they maintained that none ought to be bond, without he did treason to his lord, as Lucifer did to God; but they said they could have no such battle, for they were neither angels nor spirits, but men formed to the similitude of their lords, saying why should they then be kept so under like beasts; the which they said they would no longer suffer, for they would be all one, and if they laboured or did anything, for their lords, they would have wages therefor as well as other. And of this imagination was a foolish priest in the country of Kent called John Ball, for the which foolish words he had been three times in the bishop of Canterbury's prison: for this priest used oftentimes on the Sundays after mass, when the people were going out of the minster, to go into the cloister and preach, and made the people to assemble about him, and would say thus: 'Ah, ye good people, the matters goeth not well to pass in England, nor shall not do till everything be common, and that there be no villains nor gentlemen, but that we may be all united together, and that the lords be no greater masters than we be. What have we deserved, or why should we be kept thus in servage? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve: whereby can they say or shew that they be greater lords than we be, saving by that they cause us to win and labour for that they dispend? They are clothed in velvet and camlet furred with grise, and we be vested with poor cloth: they have their wines, spices and good bread, and we have the drawing out of the chaff and drink water: they dwell in fair houses, and we have the pain and travail, rain and wind in the fields; and

I.e. they were not of that nature.

John Ball began preaching about 1366. His teachings, so far as known to us, were a perverted and practical application of Wycliffe's theories. During the rising he was seized at Coventry and hanged.

A doggerel couplet, often heard at this time, ran "When Adam delved, and

Eve span,
Who was
then the
gentleman ? "

by that that cometh of our labours they keep and maintain their estates : we be called their bondmen, and without we do readily them service, we be beaten ; and we have no sovereign to whom we may complain, nor that will hear us nor do us right. Let us go to the king, he is young, and shew him what servage we be in, and shew him how we will have it otherwise, or else we will provide us of some remedy ; and if we go together, all manner of people that be now in any bondage will follow us to the intent to be made free ; and when the king seeth us, we shall have some remedy, either by fairness or otherwise.' Thus John Ball said on Sundays, when the people issued out of the churches in the villages ; wherefore many of the mean people loved him, and such as intended to no goodness said how he said truth ; and so they would murmur one with another in the fields and in the ways as they went together, affirming how John Ball said truth.

The archbishop of Canterbury, who was informed of the saying of this John Ball, caused him to be taken and put in prison a two or three months to chastise him : howbeit, it had been much better at the beginning that he had been condemned to perpetual prison or else to have died, rather than to have suffered him to have been again delivered out of prison ; but the bishop had conscience to let him die. And when this John Ball was out of prison, he returned again to his error, as he did before.

Of his words and deeds there were much people in London informed, such as had great envy at them that were rich, and such as were noble ; and then they began to speak among them and said how the realm of England was right evil governed, and how that gold and silver was taken from them by them that were named noblemen : so thus these unhappy men of London began to rebel and assembled them together, and sent word to the foresaid countries that they should come to London and bring their people with

The Peasants' Rising 109

them, promising them how they should find London open to receive them and the commons of the city to be of the same accord, saying how they would do so much to the king that there should not be one bondman in all England.

This promise moved so them of Kent, of Essex, of Sussex, of Bedford and of the countries about, that they rose and came towards London to the number of sixty thousand. And they had a captain called Water Tyler, and with him in company was Jack Straw and John Ball: these three were chief sovereign captains, but the head of all was Water Tyler, and he was indeed a tiler of houses, an ungracious patron. When these unhappy men began thus to stir, they of London, except such as were of their band, were greatly affrayed. Then the mayor of London and the rich men of the city took counsel together, and when they saw the people thus coming on every side, they caused the gates of the city to be closed and would suffer no man to enter into the city. But when they had well imagined, they advised not so to do, for they thought they should thereby put their suburbs in great peril to be brent; and so they opened again the city, and there entered in at the gates in some place a hundred, two hundred, by twenty and by thirty, and so when they came to London, they entered and lodged: and yet of truth the third part of these people could not tell what to ask or demand, but followed each other like beasts, as the shepherds did of old time, saying how they would go conquer the Holy Land, and at last all came to nothing. In like wise these villains and poor people came to London, a hundred mile off, sixty mile, fifty mile, forty mile and twenty mile off, and from all countries about London, but the most part came from the countries before named, as they came they demanded ever for the king. . . .

The rising
extended into
Devon and
Yorkshire.

Reference
to the
Pastoureaux
of 1320.

35. The Reply of Wycliffe to the Pope's
Summons (1384)

By JOHN
WYCLIFFE
(1320-1384),
priest,
scholar,
and reformer.
In 1383 he
was cited to
Rome to
answer the
charges
against him.
His reply is
given here.—
On Wycliffe,
see *Transla-
tions and
Reprints*,
II, 5.

I have joy fully to tell to all true men that believe what I hold, and algetes to the Pope; for I suppose that if my faith be rightful and given of God, the Pope will gladly confirm it; and if my faith be error, the Pope will wisely amend it.

I suppose over this that the gospel of Christ be heart of the corps of God's law; for I believe that Jesus Christ, that gave in his own person this gospel, is very God and very man, and by this heart passes all other laws.

I suppose over this that the Pope be most obliged to the keeping of the gospel among all men that live here; for the Pope is highest vicar that Christ has here in earth. For moreness of Christ's vicar is not measured by worldly moreness, but by this, that this vicar sues more Christ by virtuous living; for thus teacheth the gospel, that this is the sentence of Christ.

And of this gospel I take as believe, that Christ for time that he walked here, was most poor man of all, both in spirit and in having; for Christ says that he had nought for to rest his head on. And Paul says that he was made needy for our love. And more poor might no man be, neither bodily nor in spirit. And thus Christ put from him all manner of worldly lordship. For the gospel of John telleth that when they would have made Christ king, he fled and hid him from them, for he would none such worldly highness.

And over this I take it as believe, that no man should sue the Pope, nor no saint that now is in heaven, but in as much as he sues Christ. For John and James erred when they coveted worldly highness; and Peter and Paul sinned also when they denied and blasphemed in Christ; but men

should not sue them in this, for then they went from Jesus Christ. And this I take as wholesome counsel, that the Pope leave his worldly lordship to worldly lords, as Christ gave them,—and move speedily all his clerks to do so. For thus did Christ, and taught thus his disciples, till the fiend had blinded this world. And it seems to some men that clerks that dwell lastingly in this error against God's law, and flee to sue Christ in this, been open heretics, and their fautors been partners.

And if I err in this sentence, I will meekly be amended, yea, by the death, if it be skilful, for that I hope were good to me. And if I might travel in mine own person, I would with good will go to the Pope. But God has needed me to the contrary, and taught me more obedience to God than to men. And I suppose of our Pope that he will not be Antichrist, and reverse Christ in this working, to the contrary of Christ's will; for if he summon against reason, by him or by any of his, and pursue this unskilful summoning, he is an open Antichrist. And merciful intent excused not Peter, that Christ should not clepe him Satan; so blind intent and wicked counsel excuses not the Pope here; but if he ask of true priests that they travel more than they may, he is not excused by reason of God, that he should not be Antichrist. For our belief teaches us that our blessed God suffers us not to be tempted more than we may; how should a man ask such service? And therefore pray we to God for our Pope Urban the Sixth, that his old holy intent be not quenched by his enemies. And Christ, that may not lie, says that the enemies of a man been especially his home family; and this is sooth of men and fiends.

Select English Works of Wyclif (edited by T. Arnold, Oxford, 1869), III, 504–506. Modernized version by E. P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, *Translations and Reprints*, II, 5.

The remarkable poem of which the prologue is here given was written probably in 1436. The writer is unknown. He was plainly well acquainted with commercial affairs of the time, and he seems to have had the favour of Cardinal Beaufort and other great men. As he states in the prologue his purpose was to call attention to the view which he discusses at length, that England's power was on the sea rather than on the land.

Libel, *i.e.*
little book.

Sigismond of
Germany.

36. The Libel of English Policy

The true intent of English policy

Is to keep our land from all attack at rest,
That of our England no man may deny
That it, in sooth, is not one of the best ;
That he who sails south, north or east or west,
May carry merchandise and keep the admiralty,
And say that we are masters of the narrow sea.

For when the emperor, Sigismond, the great,
(Who reigneth yet) once visited this strand
With Henry fifth, king over all our state,
He thought he found much glory in this land ;
A mighty nation which had taken in hand
To war with France, with great mortality,
And ever more to keep their power upon the sea.

And when he saw the towns of Calais and of Dover,
Then unto the king spake he, ' My brother,
' If you're to keep the sea, and soon cross over,
You of your towns must choose one or another,
From which to make attack, your kingdom to recover,
Keep, sire, these two, 'neath your supremacy
As your two eyes to watch the narrow sea.'

If this sea were kept, in days of alarm
Who could pass here without danger and woe,
Who could escape, and who could work us harm ?
And what merchandise through the sea could go ?
Then we could take a truce from every foe,
Flanders and Spain, and all the rest, pardie,
Or hinder them all within this narrow sea.

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Therefore I purpose another word to take
And open and plain my conclusion to show,
For mine own acquittal and for conscience' sake
Before God, and against revilings low,
And cowardice, to confusion of our foe ;
These four things our noble shows to us,
King, ship and sword, and the power of the sea.

Noble = an English coin first issued by Edward III. It bore on one side the king and a sword, on the other a ship.

Where are our ships, and where our swords to-day?
We are bid by our foes for the ship put a sheep !
Alas ! our power fails, it is taken away,
But who dares to say, that a watch we must keep?
Tho' for very shame my heart begins to weep,
Yet I will attempt this work, if we hope to be,
Ever more the masters of the narrow sea.

Shall any prince, of whatsoever name
Who hath nobles very much like ours,
Be lord of the sea, and Flemings, to our shame,
Stop us and take us, and so make fade the flowers
Of English state, and trample on our powers?
Alas ! for cowardice that it so should be !
Wherefore I begin to write now of the sea.

Political Poems and Songs (edited by T. Wright, London, 1861),
II, 157-159. Version by M. G. Gordon.

CHAPTER VII—THE WARS OF THE ROSES

37. King Henry VI

By JOHN
BLAKMAN, a
monk of the
Charter-
house in
London in
the reign of
Henry VI.
From him-
self we know
that he as-
sisted the
king in his
studies and
pious works.
His account
is based,
therefore,
on close per-
sonal obser-
vation. It is
plainly in-
fluenced,
however, by
the writer's
sympathies.
—On the
Wars of the
Roses, see E.
Thompson,
*The Wars of
York and
Lancaster*;
C. W. Oman,
*Warwick, the
King-maker*.

Cardinal
Beaufort, son
of John of
Gaunt, died
in 1447.

1 Peter II. 5.

WHEN the executors of the right reverend Lord Cardinal and Bishop of Winchester, his uncle, came to the King with a very great sum, to wit, £2,000, to be given to the King's use, and towards lightening the necessary burthens of the realm, he utterly refused the gift, nor would he in any way have it, saying, "My uncle was very dear to me, and did us much kindness while he lived: the Lord reward him. Do ye with his goods as ye are bounden; we will not take them." The executors, astonished at that royal saying, besought the King's Majesty at least to accept that gift from their hands towards the endowment of his two colleges at Cambridge and Eton, which he might then as it were found anew. This their supplication and donation the King most willingly accepted, enjoining that, for the relief of his uncle's soul, they should confer the gift upon the colleges aforesaid; and they forthwith fulfilled the Royal mandate.

For the beginning and foundation of these two colleges, he diligently sought out everywhere the best "living stones," — youths well found in virtue and knowledge, and priests who should be set as doctors and tutors over the others. With respect to obtaining these priests, the King had said to him whom he employed about the business, "We had rather put up with their falling short in musical matters than in knowledge of the Scriptures." And with respect to the boys or youths, brought to him to be made scholars of, the King wished them altogether to be educated and nurtured

as much in virtue as in knowledge. So when now and then he met some of them in Windsor Castle, where they sometimes went to visit acquaintances in the King's service, . . . he admonished them to follow the path of virtue, giving them along with his words also money to attract them, and saying, "Be good boys, gentle and teachable, and servants of the Lord." And if he found any of them visiting his court, he sometimes stopped them by chiding them, that they should not do that again; lest his lambskins should become acquainted with the profligate ways and doings of his courtiers, or should in part or wholly lose their own good morals, like lambs or sheep, which, grazing among brambles or thorns, tear to pieces their fleeces, and often wholly lose them. . . .

This most pious King was not ashamed to serve as a diligent assistant to the priest celebrating before him, answering to the mass, *Amen*. *Sed libera nos*, and the like. So indeed he commonly did even to me, unworthy priest. . . . Concerning his humility in his walk [and] in his clothes, . . . from his youth up he had been accustomed to wear broad-toed shoes and boots like a countryman. Also he had usually a long gown with a rounded hood after the manner of a burgess, and a tunic falling below the knees, shoes, boots, hose, everything of a dark grey colour — for he would have nothing fanciful.

Moreover, on the principal feasts of the year, but chiefly when by custom he should wear his crown, he would put on next his skin a rough hair-shirt, . . . in order to keep down all arrogance or vain-glory, to which such occasions are likely to give rise.

Concerning the occupation of the King, . . . it is known to very many now living that he was wont to dedicate holy days and Sundays wholly to hearing the divine offices, and to devout prayers on his part for himself and his people, "lest the adversaries should mock at his Sab-

The response in the Pater Noster — "But deliver us [from evil]."

In opposition to the absurdly long and pointed toes in fashion during the later part of his reign.

This must refer to his everyday dress, as on occasion he wore a blue velvet gown.

Lamenta-
tions I. 7.

Tunstall fol-
lowed Henry
in his wan-
derings after
Towton, and
fought
bravely to
save him
from capture.
After this he
held out in
Harlech
Castle till
1468.

Swearing
with a fan-
tastic ingenu-
ity of irrever-
ence was one
of the vices
of the age.

baths." And he also diligently endeavoured to induce others to do the like. But the other less holy days . . . he spent, not less diligently, either in treating of the affairs of the realm with his Council, according as the necessity of the case demanded, or in readings of the Scriptures, or in perusing writings and chronicles. Concerning which, a certain worthy knight, once a right faithful chamberlain of his, Sir Richard Tunstall, bore verbal and written testimony, saying, "In the law of the Lord was his delight day and night." Evidence to the same effect is afforded by the bitter complaint which the Lord King himself made to me in his chamber at Eltham, when I was there alone with him working with him in his holy books, intent upon wholesome admonitions and devout aspirations : — a certain most powerful Duke of the realm having just then knocked at the royal door, the King said, "So do they disturb me, that scarce am I able by snatches, day or night, to refresh myself with the reading of the sacred dogmata, without somebody making a noise."

It was his wont to use no oaths to confirm the truth of his sayings, except by uttering these words, "Forsooth, and forsooth," that he might make those to whom he spoke certain of what he said. Wherefore, sometimes by gently advising, sometimes by severely chiding, he restrained very many, magnates as well as commons, from great oaths ; since every one who swore was abominable to him. For the King, hearing a certain great lord, his chamberlain, thoughtlessly break out swearing, seriously reprovèd him, saying, "Alas ! while you, the master of a household, thus, contrary to God's command, rap out oaths, you set the worst example to your servants and subjects, for you incite them to do the like."

John Blakman, *De Virtutibus et Miraculis Henrici VI* (Hearne, Oxford, 1732), 294-302. Translation and notes by E. Thompson, *The Wars of York and Lancaster* (London, 1892), 11-15.

38. Tampering with Juries and Elections under Henry VI

Master Paston, we commend us to you, letting you know that the Sheriff is nought so whole as he was, for now he will show but a part of his friendship. And also there is great press of people, and few friends, as far as we can feel it. And therefore be ye sadly advised whether ye seem best to come yourself, or send, or, etc., for we will assay in as much as in us is to prevail to your intent. And yet, if it needed, we would have a man to give us information, or show evidence after the case requireth. Also the Sheriff informed us that he hath writing from the King that he shall make such a panel to acquit Lord Moleynes. And also he told us, and as far as we can conceive and feel, the Sheriff will panel gentlemen to acquit the Lord, and jurors to acquit his men; and we suppose that it is by the motion and means of the other party. And if any means of treaty be proffered, we know not what mean should be to your pleasure. And therefore we would fain have more knowledge, if you think it were to do.

No more at this time, but the Holy Trinity have you in his keeping. Written at Walsingham, in haste, the second day of May. By your true and faithful friends,

DEBENHAM, TYMPERLEY AND WHITE.

1451, 2 May.

TO MY WORSHIPFUL MASTER, JOHN PASTON, SQUIRE. My worshipful master, I recommend me to you; and I thank you that it pleaseth you to take such labour for me as ye do. My servant told me ye desired to know what my Lord of Norfolk said to me when I spake of you; and he said in asmuch as Howard might not be, he would write a letter to the Under-Sheriff that the shire should have free election, so

The accompanying letters are taken from *The Paston Letters*, a collection of letters and papers mostly written by or to members of the Paston family in Norfolk during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. They throw much light on the social conditions which mainly conduced to the Wars of the Roses.

Sadly advised = consider seriously.
After = according as.

Howard was objected to because he had no land in the county; and John Paston was put forward.

Inclined to.

I.e. honour.

that Sir Thomas Todenham were not, nor none that was toward the Duke of Suffolk; he said he knew ye were never to him ward. Ye may send to the Under-Sheriff and see my Lord letter. Howard was as mad as a wild bullock; God send him such worship as he deserveth. It is a evil precedent for the shire that a strange man should be chosen, and no worship to my Lord of York, nor to my Lord of Norfolk to write for him; for if the gentlemen of the shire will suffer such inconveniences, in good faith, the shire shall not be called of such worship as it hath been.

Written at Intwood, this Wednesday next after Saint John, in haste.

Your servant,

JOHN JENNEY.

1455, 25 June.

Paston Letters (edited by J. Gairdner, London, 1872), I, Nos. 155, 250. Spelling modernized.

39. The Beginning of Strife (1454)

By JOHN STODELEY. This letter, although apparently having no connection with the Paston family, was found among the Paston Letters. It gives a good view of the beginning of the factional strife of York and Lancaster under the weak rule of Henry VI.

As touching tidings, please it you to know that at the Prince's coming to Windsor, the Duke of Buckingham took him in his arms and presented him to the King in goodly wise, beseeching the King to bless him, and the King gave no manner answer. Nevertheless the Duke abode still with the Prince by the King; and when he could no manner answer have, the Queen came in, and took the Prince in her arms and presented him in like form as the Duke had done, desiring that he should bless it; but all their labour was in vain, for they departed thence without any answer or countenance, saving only that once he looked on the Prince, and cast down his eyes again, without any more.

Item, the Cardinal hath charged and commanded all his servants to be ready with bowe and arrows, sword and buckler, crossbows and all other habiliments of war, such as they can meddle with, to wait upon the safeguard of his person.

Item, the earl of Wiltshire and the Lord Bonville have caused to be cried at Taunton in Somerset shire, that every man that is likely and will go with them and serve them, shall have 6d. every day as long as he abideth with them. . . .

Item, Thorpe of the exchequer articuleth fast against the Duke of York, but what his articles be it is yet unknown.

Item, Tresham, Joseph, Daniel, and Trevilian have made a bill to the Lords, desiring to have a garrison kept at Windsor for the safeguard of the King and of the Prince. . . .

Item, the Duke of Somerset's herberger hath taken up all the lodging that may be gotten near the Tower, in Thames street, Mart lane, Saint Katherine's, Tower hill and there about.

Item, the Queen hath made a bill of five articles, desiring these articles to be granted ; whereof the first is that she desireth to have the whole rule of this land ; the second is that she may make the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Privy Seal, and all other officers of this land, with sheriffs and all other officers that the King should make ; the third is that she may give all the bishoprics of this land, and all other benefices belonging to the King's gift ; the fourth is that she may have sufficient livelode assigned her for the King and the Prince and herself. But as for the fifth article, I cannot yet know what it is.

Item, the Duke of York will be at London justly on Friday next coming at night, as his own men tell for certain, and he will come with his household meynee, cleanly beseen and likely men. And the earl of March cometh with him, but he will have another fellowship of good men that shall be at London before him. . . . The Earl of Salisbury will be at London on Monday or Tuesday next coming with

— On England at this time, see W. Denton, *England in the Fifteenth Century*.

The infant Prince Edward, killed at Tewksbury, 1471.

This was during Henry VI's first attack of insanity.

Archbishop Kemp of Canterbury.

Descended from John of Gaunt, and leader of the Lancastrian party.

This was before York was made Protector.

I.e. company.

Richard's son, Edward, later Edward IV.

Head of the House of Neville, brother-in-law of Richard of York.

Richmond and Pembroke were half-brothers of the king.

Warwick the King-maker.

seven score knights and squires, beside other meynee. The Earls of Warwick, Richmond and Pembroke come with the Duke of York, as it is said, every each of them with a goodly fellowship. And nevertheless the earl of Warwick will have 1000 men awaiting on him beside the fellowship that cometh with him, as far as I can know. And as Geof-fry Poole saith, the King's brothers be likely to be arrested at their coming to London, if they come. Wherefore it is thought by my Lord's servants and well wishers here that my Lord, at his coming hither shall come with a good and cleanly fellowship, such as is likely and according to his estate to have about him; and their harness to come in carts, as my Lord of York's men's harness did the last term, and shall at this time also. And over that, that my Lord shall have another good fellowship to wait on him and be here afore him, or else soon after him, in like wise as other Lords of his blood will have. . . .

The Duke of Somerset hath spies going in every Lord's house of this land; some gone as friars, some as shipmen taken on the sea, and some in other wise; which report unto him all that they can see or hear touching the said Duke. And therefore make good watch, and beware of such spies. . . .

The mayor and merchants of London, and the mayor and merchants of the staple of Calais, were with the Chancellor on Monday last passed at Lambithe and complained on the Lord Bonville for taking of the ships and goods of the Flemings and other of the Duke of Burgoynes Lord-ships, and the Chancellor gave them none answer to their pleading; wherefore the substance of them with one voice cried aloud, "Justice, justice, justice!" whereof the Chancellor was so dismayed that he could nor might no more say to them for fear.

Paston Letters (edited by J. Gairdner, London, 1872), I, No. 195. Spelling modernized.

40. The Battle of Towton (1461)

This poem was composed by a nameless adherent of the house of York.

Rone, *i.e.* Rouen, where Edward IV was born.

Now is the Rose of Rone grown to great honour,
Therefore sing we, every one, blessed be that flower !
Blessed be that royal Rose that is so fresh of hue,
Almighty Jesu bless the soul that the seed did strew,
And blessed be the garden where the sweet Rose grew,
Christ's blessing have they every one that to the Rose be true !
And blessed be the time that ever God spread that flower !

Between Christmas and Candelmas, a little before the Lent,
All the lords of the north they wrought by one consent,
For to 'stroy the south countrie was their whole intent,
Had the Rose of Rone not been, all England had been spent.
Blessed be the time that ever God spread that flower !

Roughly speaking, the north and west were Lancastrian, while the south and east supported the house of York.

Upon a Shrove-Tuesday in a green mead
Between Sandridge and Saint Albans, many man did bleed ;
On an Ash-Wednesday we were sore pressed, indeed,
Then came the Rose of Rone down to help us in our need.
Blessed be the time that ever God spread that flower !

The second battle of St. Albans was fought on Shrove-Tuesday, February 17, 1461.

The northern men, they made their boast when they had done that deed,
" We will dwell in the south countrie and take all that we need ;
These wives and their daughters, our purpose shall they speed, — "
Then said the Rose of Rone, " Nay, that work will I forbede."
Blessed be the time that ever God spread that flower !

For to save all England was the Rose of Rone's intent,
With Calais and with London, with Essex and with Kent ;

And all the south of England, unto the water of Trent,
And when he saw the time ripe, the Rose from London went.
Blessed be the time that ever God spread that flower !

The way into the north countrie the Rose full fast he sought
And with him went the Ragged Staff, that many man dear
bought ;

So too did the White Lion, full worthily he wrought.
Almighty Jesu bless his soul, that those arms ought !

The northern party made them strong with spear and eke
with shield,

And on Palm Sunday, after noon, they met us in the field :
Within an hour they were right fain to flee and eke to yield,
Twenty seven thousand men the Rose killed on that field.
Blessed be the time that ever God spread that flower !

The Rose won then the victory, the field and eke the chase,
Now may the husband in the south dwell quiet for a space,
His wife and eke his daughter, and his goods, in his own
place,

Such joyance has the Rose thus made, by virtue and by
grace.

Blessed be the time that ever God spread that flower !

The Rose came down to London, full royally riding,
Two Archbishops of England, they crowned the Rose, our
king ;

Almighty Jesu save the Rose, and give him His blessing,
And all the realm of England, joy from his crowning,
That we may bless the time that ever God spread that
flower !

Amen par charite.

Anonymous. *Archæologia*, 1872. Vol. XXIX, 343-347. Version
by M. G. Gordon.

The ragged
staff was the
badge of the
Earl of War-
wick.

The White
Lion = the
Duke of Nor-
folk, who died
in Septem-
ber, 1461.

ought =
owned.

Husband, *i.e.*
husband-
man.

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41. Queen Margaret's Story of her Adventures (1463)

Then the Duchess of Bourbon came to her at Saint-Pol, where they met lovingly together like two sisters, and the Queen related some of her adventures . . . , saying that it happened, for the space of five days, that her husband the King, her son, and she had for their three selves only one herring, and not one day's supply of bread; and that on a holy day she found herself at mass without a brass farthing to offer; wherefore, in her beggary and need, she prayed a Scottish archer to lend her something, who, half loth and regretfully, drew a Scots groat from his purse and lent it to her. She also related how, at her last unfortunate discomfiture, she was robbed and despoiled of all she had, of her royal jewels and dresses, of her plate and treasures, with which she thought to escape into Scotland; and when all this had been taken from her, she herself was seized upon, villainously reviled, run upon with a drawn sword, caught hold of her head-gear to have her neck severed, menaced with divers torments and cruelties, while she, on her knees and with clasped hands, wailing and weeping, prayed that, for the sake of divine and human pity, they would have mercy upon her. Withal she perseveringly called upon God's mercy; and Heaven heard her appeal; for speedily there arose such a discord and dissension among her captors about the booty, that, furiously slaughtering each other like madmen, they concerned themselves no more about the dolorous and discomfited Queen their princess. . . . When the poor Queen saw this, she piteously addressed an esquire who was by, and prayed him that, for the sake of Our Saviour's passion, he would help her to escape. Then the esquire looked at her, and God caused him to conceive a pity for her, so that he said, "Madam, mount behind me, and my lord the

By GEORGE CHASTEL-LAIN (1405 ?-1475), a Fleming, who after many travels entered the service of the Duke of Burgundy, by whom he was employed in diplomatic negotiations. The last years of his life were spent in literary work in Valenciennes. His chief production is his *Chronicle*.

For some time after the battle of Towton Margaret kept up the struggle with the Yorkists, but in 1463 in despair she fled with her son to seek the protection of the Duke of Burgundy.

The Duchess of Bourbon was sister of the Duke of Burgundy.

Saint-Pol in the province of Artois.

Prince before, and I will save you or die, although death seems to me more likely than not." So the Queen and her son mounted. . . .

[The esquire, at the Queen's desire, makes for a neighbouring forest.]

Now there was in this forest a place haunted by brigands, who were reported throughout the country to be pitiless cut-throats. It befell that there came up a brigand, hideous and horrible of aspect, and, roused by the sight of prey, he approached the Queen with intent to lay hands upon her. Then when the noble Queen thought that nothing but death was before her, either from the enemies from whom she had escaped, or from the brigands of whom she now saw a specimen, she called the robber up to her, and thus addressed him ;

[Margaret declares herself to be the Queen, and adjures the robber to save the son of his King.]

In such words, or to such effect, the poor Queen reasoned with the brigand, who, seeing her tears and her distress, and also because she was Queen of the land, conceived a great pity for her ; and, the Holy Spirit softening his heart, he fell at her feet, saying that he would die by a thousand deaths and as many torments rather than abandon the noble youth until he had brought him to the haven of safety. And praying mercy of the Queen for his misdeeds, as if she were reigning in London, he vowed to God and to her never to revert to his present courses, and to amend his life in expectation of mercy. So he took the youth in haste, for the Queen was ever in fear of being overtaken ; wherefore she sought only to separate from the child, and to put him into God's guiding hand. Thus, kissing her son, weeping and lamenting, she left him in the hands of the brigand, who nobly did his duty by him afterwards. And the Queen, riding behind the esquire, made straight for a foreign march, where she expected to find her husband the King. Which

having reached by long weary travelling, she related to him these adventures. . . . The Duchess felt great pity for her, and said that certainly, short of having passed through the anguish of death, never had so high a princess a harder fortune, and that therefore, if God did not raise her up again, she ought to be put in the book of noble unhappy women, as having surpassed them all.

George Chastellain, *Chronicle* (Brussels, 1863-1866), IV, 299-307.

Translation from *The Wars of York and Lancaster*, edited by Edith Thompson, London 1892), 90-93.

march-land." E. Thompson.

King Henry remained in England, and in the summer of 1465 he was seized on the borders of Yorkshire and Lancashire, and brought to London to the Tower.

42. A Summons to the Field (1471)

RICHARD, EARL OF WARWICK, TO HENRY VERNON, SQUIRE.

Right trusty and right well-beloved, I greet you well, and desire and heartily pray you that inasmuch as yonder man Edward, the king's our sovereign lord great enemy, rebel, and traitor, is now late arrived in the north parts of this land and coming fast on southward accompanied with Flemings, Easterlings, and Danes, not exceeding the number of all that he ever hath of 2,000 persons, nor the country as he cometh nothing falling to him, ye will therefore, incontinent and forthwith after the sight hereof, dispose you toward me to Coventry with as many people defensibly arrayed as ye can readily make, and that ye be with me there in all haste possible, as my very singular trust is in you, and as I may do thing to your weal or worship hereafter. And God keep you. Written at Warwick the 25th day of March.

Henry, I pray you, fail not now as ever I may do for you.

Th' Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, Lieutenant to the king our sovereign Lord Henry the Sixth.

R. WARWICK.

Hist. MSS. Commission, 12th Report, Appendix (London, 1888), Part IV, p. 3. Spelling modernized.

This summons was sent in 1471 by the king-maker, at the time of his invasion of England in the interests of Henry VI, whom he had driven from the throne in 1461.

At Warwick's coming in 1470, Edward IV fled to Burgundy. In 1471 he returned, having obtained from the Duke money and ships.

Nothing falling to him, *i.e.* not joining him.

Make, *i.e.* raise.

43. The Battle of Barnet (1471)

By JOHN WARKWORTH, from 1473 to 1498, Master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. In the college library a manuscript copy of his Chronicle is still preserved. Warkworth's sympathies were Lancastrian.

London was loyal to the Yorkist cause, as were the towns generally.

And on the Wednesday next before Easter-day, King Harry, and the Archbishop of York with him, rode about London, and desired the people to be true unto him; and every man said they would. Nevertheless Urswyke, Recorder of London, and divers Aldermen, such that had rule of the city, commanded all the people, that were in harness, keeping the city, and King Harry, every man to go home to dinner; and in dinner time King Edward was let in, and so went forth to the Bishop of London's palace, and there took King Harry, and the Archbishop of York, and put them in ward, the Thursday next before Easter-day. And the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Berners, and such other as owed King Edward good will, as well in London, as in other places, made as many men as they might, in strengthening the said King Edward; so then he was a seven thousand men, and there they refreshed well themselves, all that day, and Good Friday. And upon Easter Even, he and all his host went toward Barnet, and carried King Harry with him; for he had understanding, that the Earl of Warwick, and the Duke of Exeter, the Lord Marquis Montague, the Earl of Oxford, and many other knights, squires, and commons, to the number of twenty thousand, were gathered together to fight against the King Edward. But it happened that he, with his host, were entered into the town of Barnet, before the Earl of Warwick, and his host. And so the Earl of Warwick, and his host, lay without the town all night, and each of them loosed guns at other all the night. And on Easter day in the morning, the fourteenth day of April, right early each of them came upon other; and there was such a great mist, that neither of them might see other perfectly. There they fought from four of clock in

the morning, unto ten of clock the forenoon. And divers times the Earl of Warwick's party had the victory, and supposed that they had won the field. But it happened so, that the Earl of Oxford's men had upon them their lord's livery, both before and behind, which was a star with streams, which (*was*) much like King Edward's livery, the sun with streams; and the mist was so thick, that a man might not perfectly judge one thing from another; so the Earl of Warwick's men shot and fought against the Earl of Oxford's men, thinking and supposing, that they had been King Edward's men; and anon the Earl of Oxford, and his men, cried, "treason! treason!" and fled away from the field with eight hundred men. The Lord Marquis Montague was agreed, and appointed with King Edward, and put upon him King Edward's livery; and a man of the Earl of Warwick's, saw that, and fell upon him, and killed him. And when the Earl of Warwick saw his brother dead, and the Earl of Oxford fled, he leaped on horseback and fled to a wood by the field of Barnet, where was no way forth; and one of King Edward's men had espied him, and one came upon him, and killed him, and despoiled him naked. And so King Edward got that field. And there was slain of the Earl of Warwick's party, the Earl himself, Marquis Montague, Sir William Tyrell, Knight, and many others. The Duke of Exeter fought manly there that day, and was greatly despoiled, and wounded, and left naked for dead in the field, and so lay there from seven of clock, till four afternoon, which was taken up and brought to a house by a man of his own, and a leech brought to him and so afterwards brought into sanctuary at Westminster. And (*of*) King Edward's party was slain the Lord Cromwell, son and heir to the Earl of Essex; Lord Berners (*his*) son and heir, (*Sir Humphrey Bourchier*;) Lord Say, and divers other to the number [of both parties] four thousand men. And after that the field was done, King

I.e. rays,
beams.

Montague's
treachery is
not certain.

Edward commanded both the Earl of Warwick's body, and the Lord Marquis' body, to be put in a cart, and returned himself with all his host again to London; and there commanded the said two bodies, to be laid in the church of Paul's, on the pavement, that every man might see them; and so they lay three or four days, and afterwards were buried. And King Harry being in the forward during the battle, was not hurt; but he was brought again to the Tower of London, there to be kept.

John Warkworth, *A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward IV* (edited by J. O. Halliwell, Camden Society, 1839; reprinted with spelling modernized in *Chronicles of the White Rose*, London, 1845), 123-126.

CHAPTER VIII — THE REFORMATION

44. Henry VIII and Wolsey (1519)

HIS majesty is twenty-nine years old and extremely handsome. Nature could not have done more for him. He is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom; a great deal handsomer than the King of France; very fair, and his whole frame admirably proportioned. On hearing that Francis I wore a beard, he allowed his own to grow, and as it is reddish, he has now a beard that looks like gold. He is very accomplished, a good musician, composes well, is a most capital horseman, a fine jousting, speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish, is very religious, hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. He hears the office every day in the queen's chamber, that is to say vesper and compline. He is very fond of hunting, and never takes his diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he causes to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he means to take, and when one is tired he mounts another, and before he gets home they are all exhausted. He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture. He gambles with the French hostages, to the amount occasionally, it is said, of from 6000 to 8000 ducats in a day. He is affable and gracious, harms no one, does not covet his neighbour's goods, and is satisfied with his own dominions, having often said to me, "Sir Ambassador, we want all potentates to content themselves with

By SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian ambassador to England, 1515-1519. With the sixteenth century began what has been called the diplomatic period of European history, but it was "only by slow degrees that the occasional mission of special envoys was consolidated into the permanent residence of an accredited agent." Venice, however, had a peculiar need of strengthening her connection with England, for at this time the Republic was threatened with spoliation by the great continental powers.

Thus it came about that from 1509 to the final overthrow of the Republic in 1797, the succession of Venetian ambassadors to the English court was unbroken, save for special political reasons. The correspondence and reports of the Venetian agents form a valuable source of information on English affairs.

Francis I,
King of
France.

Meres, *i.e.*
lakes.

Charles V,
Emperor of
Germany.

Thomas
Wolsey.—
On Wolsey,
see G. Caven-
dish, *The
Life of Car-*

their own territories; we are satisfied with this island of ours." He seems extremely desirous of peace.

He is very rich. His father left him ten millions of ready money in gold, of which he was supposed to have spent one-half in the war against France, when he had three armies on foot; one crossed the Channel with him, another was in the field against Scotland, and the third remained with the queen in reserve.

His revenues amount to about 350,000 ducats annually, and are derived from estates, forests, and meres, the customs, hereditary and confiscated property, the duchies of Lancaster, York, Cornwall and Suffolk, the county palatine of Chester, and others, the principality of Wales, the export duties, the wool staple, the great seal, the annates yielded by Church benefices, the Court of Wards, and from New Year's gifts; for on the first day of the year it is customary for his majesty to make presents to everybody, but the value of those he receives in return greatly exceeds his own outlay. His majesty's expenses may be estimated at 100,000 ducats, those in ordinary having been reduced from 100,000 to 56,000 to which must be added 16,000 for salaries, 5000 for the stable, 5000 for the halberdiers, who have been reduced from 500 to 150, and 16,000 for the wardrobe, for he is the best dressed sovereign in the world. His robes are very rich and superb, and he puts on new clothes every holyday.

The queen is the sister of the mother of the king of Spain, now styled King of the Romans. She is thirty-five years old and not handsome, though she has a very beautiful complexion. She is religious and as virtuous as words can express. I have seen her but seldom.

The Cardinal of York is the same as he whom I have styled Orion, in a work composed by me. He is of low origin and has two brothers, one of whom holds an untitled benefice, and the other is pushing his fortune. He rules

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both the king and the entire kingdom. On my first arrival in England he used to say to me, "His majesty will do so and so." Subsequently, by degrees, he forgot himself, and commenced saying, "We shall do so and so." At this present he has reached such a pitch that he says, "I shall do so and so." He is about forty-six years old, very handsome, learned, extremely eloquent, of vast ability and indefatigable. He alone transacts the same business as that which occupies all the magistracies, offices and councils of Venice, both civil and criminal, and all State affairs likewise are managed by him, let their nature be what it may.

He is thoughtful, and has the reputation of being extremely just. He favours the people exceedingly, and especially the poor, hearing their suits and seeking to despatch them instantly. He also makes the lawyers plead gratis for all who are poverty-stricken. He is in very great repute, seven times more so than if he were Pope. He has a very fine palace, where one traverses eight rooms before reaching his audience chamber. They are all hung with tapestry which is changed once a week. Wherever he is, he always has a sideboard of plate worth 25,000 ducats. His silver is estimated at 150,000 ducats. In his own chamber there is always a cupboard with vessels to the amount of 30,000 ducats, as is customary with the English nobility. He is supposed to be very rich indeed in money, plate and household stuff.

The Archbishopric of York yields him about 14,000 ducats, and the Bishopric of Bath 8000. One-third of the fees derived from the Great Seal are his, the other two are divided between the king and the chancellor. The cardinal's share amounts to about 5000 ducats. By New Year's gifts he makes about 15,000 ducats.

dinal Wolsey; Bishop Creighton, Cardinal Wolsey.

Sebastian Giustinian, *Report of England made to the Senate*, September 10, 1519 (*Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1509-1519, No. 1287, London, 1873).

45. Sir Thomas More (1519)

By DESIDERIUS ERASMUS (1467-1536), the greatest scholar of the Renaissance. He was a native of Rotterdam, but his interest in learning drew him to the great intellectual centres of Europe, and he spent much time in France and Italy and in England, where he formed a close friendship with Colet and More. His renown became so great that the leading sovereigns of the time urged him to fix his residence in their dominions. The last years of his life were spent in Basle and Fribourg. Erasmus helped prepare the way for the Reformation by his criticisms of the clergy, but he was not in sympathy with the new

I shall then try to suggest to you, rather than adequately describe, the likeness of the whole man as in daily intercourse I have been able to observe or to remember it.

Beginning with those characteristics of More which are most unknown to you ; in stature he is not tall, and yet above any conspicuous shortness. Indeed the symmetry of his body is so great that you do not notice his size. He is of light complexion, his face fair rather than pale, yet far from being ruddy, except when a slight flush overspreads it. His hair is brownish yellow or, if you prefer, a golden brown ; and his beard thin. His eyes are gray, with spots here and there on them, an indication of great talent, and considered in England the sign of an amiable temper, though our countrymen prefer black eyes. It is said that there is no sort of eyes less subject to disease. His face reflects his mind, and always wears a pleasant and mirthful expression, occasionally passing into a laugh, and, to tell the truth, he is more inclined to pleasantry than to gravity and dignity, though far enough removed from folly or buffoonery. . . . His voice is neither very loud nor very shrill, but penetrating, with no softness or melody ; and yet he speaks distinctly. Although he takes pleasure in all kinds of music, he does not seem to have been gifted by nature with a voice for singing. His speech is wonderfully precise and well enunciated, neither rapid nor at all hesitating. He dresses very simply, and wears no silk or purple or gold chains, except when it is impossible to avoid it. He is exceedingly regardless of those ceremonies by which most people judge of good manners, and as he exacts them from no one, he is not anxious to show them to others ; yet he understands them perfectly, if he chooses to practice them. He thinks it effeminate, however, and unworthy of a man to spend a great part of

one's time on such trivial concerns. To the court and intercourse with princes he was formerly much averse, because tyranny had always been particularly hateful to him, just as justice was attractive. You will scarcely find any court so disciplined as not to have much of bustle and of ambition, much guile and much luxury, and which is entirely free from every kind of tyranny. Nor, indeed, into the court of Henry VIII could he be drawn, except by much effort, although none can be found more order-loving and more moderate than this prince. More is by nature desirous of liberty and ease; but just as he uses ease gladly when it is given, so when business requires, no one is more careful or more laborious.

One might suppose he had been expressly formed for friendship, so sincerely does he cultivate, and so tenaciously adhere to it. Nor is he afraid of having too many friends, although Hesiod condemns it. In fact, he is ready to strike up acquaintance with everybody, and while he is thus by no means fastidious in his choice of friends, he is ever most kind in showing them hospitality, and most constant in retaining them. If by chance he falls in with any one whose faults are past cure, he takes an opportunity of dismissing him quietly, thus untying, rather than rudely breaking, the bonds of friendship. But when he finds any who are truly sincere and of congenial temperament, he is so fond of conversing with them and telling them stories, that you would fancy he considered this the greatest pleasure of life, for he has an utter abhorrence of ball, dice, cards and other games with which most gentlemen beguile their hours of leisure. Moreover, while he is inattentive to his own interest, he is most diligent in looking after the business of his friends. In short, whoever wants a perfect pattern of true friendship, cannot possibly do better than to take it from the example of More.

In company, he possesses such rare courtesy and sweet-

doctrines, and was unwilling to break with the papacy. In this he was like More. Among his most important literary works are editions of the New Testament in the original Greek, the *Praise of Folly*, the *Colloquies*, and the *Letters*.—On Erasmus, and More, and the Renaissance, see Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*. See also No. 47, and Roper's *Life of More*.

"I have come to court entirely against my will, and as the king himself often jestingly reproaches me for. And I am as uncomfortable as a carpet knight in the saddle." More to Fisher.

ness of manners as would cheer any heart, however sad, or alleviate the tedium of any situation, however disagreeable. From his boyhood, he was always as fond of jokes as if he had come into the world for no other purpose ; yet he never went to the length of scurrility, nor could he bear to utter an unkind word. When a lad, he both wrote farces, and acted in them. So great is his love for pleasantries, especially if it be sharp and really clever, that he would enjoy a joke even at his own expense ; and this led him, when he was a young man, to amuse himself with writing epigrams ; indeed, it was he who instigated me to write my "Praise of Folly," which was as much in my way as for a camel to dance. There is nothing, however, in the world, not even in the most serious business, from which he will not extract amusement. In company with learned and sensible men, he finds pleasure in intellectual converse ; but among fools or silly people, he amuses himself with their folly ; nor do the most foolish people annoy him, so extraordinary is his power of adapting himself to every character. With ladies, and even with his wife, he does nothing but laugh and joke. . . .

To Flanders
and France.

When he had been repeatedly sent on embassies, and in these had acted with conspicuous discretion, the most serene King, Henry VIII, would not rest until he had dragged the man into the service of his court. For why should I not say, "dragged"? No one ever went about more laboriously to be admitted at court, than this man tried to escape it. But since this most excellent king had made up his mind to fill his household with learned, grave, discreet, and honourable men, as many others, so especially did he summon More, whom he has there held in the greatest intimacy, so that he will never let him leave him. If serious matters had to be considered, no one was more wise in council than he ; if the king thought well to relax his mind with pleasant stories, no companion was more merry. If difficult cases demand a judge of special wisdom and gravity, More decides them so

as to please both parties ; and yet never was he prevailed on to receive a bribe from any one. Happy would it be for the world, if every king could employ such ministers of justice as More. Nor has he, in consequence of his elevation, become too proud to remember his humble friends ; and amid the pressure of business, he yet finds time now and then to return to his beloved studies. Whatever power he has in virtue of his rank, whatever influence he enjoys through the favour of his sovereign, he uses it all for the good of his country and the good of his friends. At all times he was most anxious to confer favours without distinction, and always leaned in a marvelous degree to the side of mercy ; and now, when he has more power, he indulges the spirit the more freely. He helps some with money, protects others by his authority ; others he advances by his recommendations, while he aids with his advice those whom he cannot otherwise assist, and never sends any one from him dissatisfied. You would suppose More was the public patron of all poor men. He thinks it a great gain to himself to have relieved the oppressed, set at liberty the embarrassed or perplexed, or recovered the friendship of any one who was estranged from him. No one can be more ready to do a kindness, no one less exacting in looking for its repayment. Now, though he is in so many respects at the very pinnacle of good-fortune, and although good-fortune is usually accompanied by pride, I have never yet met any one who was more entirely free from that vice. He cultivates true piety diligently, though far removed from all superstition. He has hours in which he appeals to God in prayers suggested not by custom but by his heart. With his friends he talks about the life of the world to come, in such a way that you will recognize that he speaks from the heart, and with the best of hopes.

Such is More at court. Yet there are those who think that Christians are not to be found anywhere except in

monasteries. Such men this most wise king not only admits, . . . but compels into his household. . . .

Letter from Erasmus to Ulrich von Hutten, Antwerp, 1519
(translated by E. P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania
Translations and Reprints, I, No. 1).

Probably by
THOMAS
CROMWELL
(† 1540),
later Minister of Henry VIII. This speech was delivered in the House of Commons in 1523 in the famous debate upon the king's demand for a subsidy to carry on the war with France. Cromwell sat in this parliament, and the manuscript of the speech is in the handwriting of his clerk. Mr. Brewer holds that the speech cannot well be attributed to anyone else than Cromwell. In the extract here given the speaker, without

46. A Discussion of England's Foreign Policy (1523)

It is no time now to speak of peace. Want of truth is so deeply rooted in the French nation, and their appetite to extend their bounds is so insatiable, that even if we had no quarrel of our own against them, we could not but detest their false dealings with other princes. If not scourged, they will be a scourge to others. They have provoked the Emperor, whose power is so great that, when it is joined with ours, they will be environed on every side. The Emperor has already shown them what he can do, . . . and we, for our part, have spoiled and burnt Morkesse, and laid waste a great country, with great honor to the fortunate and sage captain, the earl of Surrey, who remained in the French dominions, with a small number of men, for six or seven weeks, when all the power of France durst not give him battle. I trust the same valiant captain will subdue the Scots, whom the French have so "custuously" entertained against us. It may be a question whether to continue the same kind of war as hitherto, or to make it more sharp and violent by sending such a force as utterly to subdue Francis. On this point I wish some sage and experienced person would speak; only one thing "putteth me in no small agony." My lord Cardinal said that the King, who is dearer to any of his subjects than his own life, intends to go over in

person; which I wish I may never live to see. "I am sure there is no good Englishman which can be merry the day when he happeneth to think that his grace might perchance be distempered of his health; so that, albeit I say for my part, I stomach, as a sorry subject may do, the high injuries done by the said Francoys unto his most dear sovereign, yet, rather than the thing should go so far forth, I could, for my part, be contented to forget altogether."

The French have established an ordinance among them, that their King shall never go in person, in ranged battle, against our nation, on account of the danger, notwithstanding their marvellous policy for the sure succession of their crown. How needful, then, for us "(considering in what case we be)" to entreat our sovereign, for our sakes and his daughter's, "upon whose weal and circumspect bestowing, next his noble person, dependeth all our wealths," to restrain his high courage; for, if he were to go, I am sure there would not be one man in the army "but he should be more meet to wail and wring his hands, than assured to fight, when he considered that, if otherwise than well should fortune to that precious jewel, which he had for his party in custody, it were more meeter for him to depart into Turkey, than to return again into his natural country to his wife and children." I think, therefore, if my prince would tarry within his realm, it would be better to advance our war by little and little, so as to weary out the said Francoys, than send over at once the power royal of the kingdom.

"In the reasoning of which matter I shall but utter mine ignorance afore Hannibal, as our right wise speaker rehearsed now of late;" but having gone thus far, I shall utter my poor mind, if this great army of 30,000 foot and 10,000 horse should be conveyed beyond sea, what way they may most annoy our enemies with the greatest safety, and how they may be victualled. If they could be victualled out of the archdukedom, I doubt not they would return in safety;

directly opposing the king, points out adroitly the hazards of the war with France. At the close he outlines the policy that he would recommend, later the chosen policy of England.

Emperor = Charles V.

Francoys = Francis I.

Mary, later Queen of England.

Sir Thomas More was Speaker of the House of Commons.

for as their enemies did not venture last year to attack the earl of Surrey, they would all the more beware of so great an army ; but by this means the harm they would do to France would not be so great as what we ourselves should sustain in supporting such a force. Before three summers were over, the army would exhaust all the coin and bullion in the realm, which I conjecture cannot much exceed a million ; . . .

And of the inhabitants of the archdukedom, how desirous they are to have much of our money for little of their victuals, we had good experience, when the King last went over, and last year when my lord of Surrey was sent. But if we must send the army through their possessions, and go direct to Paris, which no doubt may be easily got, as soon as we have left the marches of the archdukedom, we should be on our guard against the Frenchmen's mode of fighting, whose plan is, not to meddle with our army, but lie in wait for stragglers or conductors of victuals. We shall be sure to find no victuals in our way, and might find the danger of leaving strongholds behind us, which the politic prince, Henry VII, avoided ; for when he crossed the sea, he laid siege to Boulogne before he would enter any further into France ; and the present King, when he purposed, as I have been told, to go to Paris, began at Terouenne, "and the Emperor employed whosoever be in Tournay," not thinking it right to pass further, leaving strongholds behind him in the possession of the enemy. What expense it would be, thus to employ our army, the King has had too good experience, in the winning of Terouenne, which cost him more than twenty such ungracious dogholes could be worth. But, if instead of this, we invaded Normandy, Brittany or some province on the sea, I can see nothing but danger on every side, not only at their arrival among their enemies, but from the difficulty in victualling them while they remain there ; for though we are undoubtedly

much diminished in treasure, we have a far greater want of defensible men. If I am asked why I urge these objections, I think the advantages we have had over the French have put them in despair to try it with us any more in ranged battle; but the French know as well our impatience to continue in war many years, especially in winter, as that our nation is invincible in arms.

I will now show you the advantages former kings have had over us in making war against France. In former times we had always places where we could land in security, either of our own, or of our confederates, in Gascony, Guienne, Brittany or Normandy. The towns and strongholds were of nothing like the strength they are at present. What friends we have now, I dare not venture to speak, and no nation was ever so united as our enemy. While the Emperor was here occupied with the winning of Tournay, they corrupted three or four of the greatest nobles of Spain, on whom the Emperor was compelled to do justice on his return thither, . . . and since his Majesty's return to Spain, the governors of his archdukedom have granted safeconducts to French and Scotch Merchants; which is marvellous hindrance, for if our commodities had been as well kept from them as theirs from us, many a thousand French artificers who have no living but by working our wools, would have been compelled to cry to the King for peace. The King should devote all his efforts to the subjugation of Scotland, and to join that realm to his, so that both they and we might live under one obeisance, law and policy, for ever. This would secure him the highest honor any king of England has reached, and it would be the greatest abashment to Francis. And although it be a common saying, that in Scotland is nought to win but strokes, there is another saying, "who that intendeth France to win, with Scotland let him begin." It is mere folly to think of keeping possessions in France, which is severed from us by the

sea, while we allow Scotland, belonging to the same island, to recognize another prince. This, once united to England, all other possessions are easily retained.

A Speech delivered in Parliament, 1523 (Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, Vol. III, Part II, No. 2958, London, 1867).



By WILLIAM
ROPER

(† 1577), husband of Margaret, the eldest and favourite daughter of Sir Thomas More. He and his wife spent their married life in the house of More until his death in 1535.

The Old Swanne = a landing-place west of London Bridge.

47. The Execution of Sir Thomas More (1535)

Now after this arraignment departed hee from the barre to the Towre againe, ledd by Sir William Kingston, a tall, stronge, and comlye Knight, Constable of the Towre, his very deare frend, whoe when he had brought him from Westminster to the ould Swanne towards the Towre, there with a heavie hart, the teares runninge downe his cheekes, bad him farewell. Sir Thomas Moore seinge him soe sorrowfull, comforted him with as good wordes as he could, saying, "Good Mr. Kingston, trouble not your selfe, but be of good cheare. For I will pray for you, and my good Ladie your wif, that we may meete in heaven togeather, where we shall be merrie for ever and ever." Soone after Sir William Kingston talkinge with mee of Sir Tho. Moore, sayd, "In faith Mr. Roper, I was ashamed of my selfe, that at my departure from your father, I found my harte soe feeble, and his soe stronge, that he was fayne to comforte me which should rather have comforted him." When Sir Tho. Moore came from Westminster to the Towreward againe, his daughter my wife, desireous to see her father, whome shee thought shee should never see in this world after, and alsoe to have his finall blessinge, gave attendaunce aboutes the Towre wharfe, where shee knewe

he should passe by, e're he could enter into the Towre. There tarriinge for his cominge home, assoone as shee sawe him, after his blessings on her knees reverentlie receaved, shee, hastinge towards, without consideration of care of herselfe, pressinge in amongst the midst of the thronge and the Companie of the Guard, that with Hollbards and Billes weare round about him, hastily ranne to him, and there openlye in the sight of all them embraced and tooke him about the necke and kissed him, whoe well likeinge her most daughterlye love and affection towards him, gave her his fatherlie blessinge, and many godlie wordes of comfort besides, from whome after shee was departed, shee not satisfied with the former sight of her deare father, havinge respect neither to her self, nor to the presse of the people and multitude that were about him, suddenlye turned back againe, and rann to him as before, tooke him about the necke, and divers tymes togeather most lovingely kissed him, and at last with a full heavie harte was fayne to departe from him ; the behouldinge whereof was to manye of them that weare present thereat soe lamentable, that it made them for very sorrow to mourne and weepe. Soe remayned Sir Thomas Moore in the Towre more then a seaven night after his Judgment. From whence the daye before he suffered he sent his shirt of hare, not willinge to have it seene, to my wyfe, his dearely beloved daughter, and a letter, written with a Cole, contayned in the foresaid booke of his workes, plainely expressinge the fervent desire he had to suffer on the morrowe in these wordes: "I comber you, good Margaret, much, but I would bee sorrie if it should be any longer then to morrowe. For to morrow is St. Thomas even, and the Utas of St. Peeter, and therefore to morrow longe I to goe to God, that weare a daye very meet and convenient for mee. And I never liked your manners better, then when you kissed mee last. For I like when daughterlie Love, and deare Charitie hath noe leasure to

Hollbards,
i.e. halberts.

The Utas =
the Octave,
or eighth day
after.

looke to worldlie Curtesie." And soe upon the next morninge, beinge tuesday, St Thomas even, and the Utas of St Peeter in the yeare of our Lord God 1535, accordinge as he in his letter the day before had wished, earlie in the morninge came to him Sir Thomas Pope, his singular frend, on messadge from the Kinge and his Councell, that hee should before nyne of the clocke in the same morninge suffer death, and that therefore fourthwith he should prepare himselfe thereto. "Mr. Pope," sayth hee, "for your good tydings I most hartily thanke you. I have beene allwayes bounden much to the Kinge's Highnes for the benefitts and honors which he hath still from tyme to tyme most bountifullly heaped upon mee, and yete more bounden I ame to his Grace for puttinge me into this place, where I have had convenient tyme and space to have remembraunce of my end, and soe helpe me God most of all, Mr. Pope, am I bound to his Highnes, that it pleased him soe shortlie to ridd me of the miseries of this wretched world. And therefore will I not fayle most earnestlye to praye for his Grace both here, and alsoe in an other world. The Kinge's pleasure is further," quoth Mr. Pope, "that at your Execution you shall not use many words." "Mr. Pope," (quoth hee) "you do well that you give mee warninge of his Grace's pleasure. For otherwise had I purposed at that tyme somewhat to have spoken, but of noe matter where-with his Grace, or any other should have had cause to be offended. Neverthesse what soever I intend I am readie obediently to conforme my self to his Grace's Commaundment. And I beseech you, good Mr Pope, to be a meane unto his Highnes, that my daughter Margerette may be present at my buriall." "The King is well contented all-readie" (quoth Mr Pope) "that your Wife, Children, and other frendes shall have free libertie to be present thereat." "O how much behoulden," then said Sir Thomas Moore, "am I to his Grace, that unto my poore buriall vouchsafeth

to have so gracious Consideration." Wherewithall Mr Pope takeinge his leave of him could not refrayne from weeping, which Sir Tho. Moore perceavinge, comforted him in this wise, "Quiete your selfe, good Mr Pope, and be not discomforted. For I trust that we shall once in heaven see each other full merily, where we shall bee sure to live and love together in joyfull blisse eternally." Upon whose departure Sir Tho. Moore, as one that had beene invited to a solempne feast, chaunged himselfe into his best apparell; which Mr Lieuetenaunt espyinge, advised him to put it off, sayinge, That he that should have it was but a Javill. "What Mr Lieuetenaunt" (quoth he) "shall I accompte him a Javill, that will doe mee this daye so singular a benefitt? Naye, I assure you, weare it cloath of gould I would accompte it well bestowed on him, as St Cyprian did, who gave his executioner xxx peeces of gold." And albeit at length, through Mr Lievetenaunte's perswasions, he altered his apparell, yete, after the example of that holy Martyr St Ciprian, did hee of that litle money that was left him, send one Angell of gold to his Executioner. And soe was he brought by Mr Lieuetenaunt out of the Towre, and from thence ledd towardes the place of execution, where goeinge upp the Scaffold, which was soe weake that it was readie to fall, he sayde to Mr Lievetenaunt, "I pray you, I pray you, Mr Lievetenaunt, "see mee safe upp, and for my cominge downe lett mee shift for my selfe." Then desired hee all the people thereaboutes to pray for him, and to beare witnessse with him, that he should then suffer death in and for the faith of the holie Catholique Church, which done hee kneeled downe, and after his prayers sayed, hee turned to the executioner, and with a cheerefull Countenance spake unto him, "Plucke upp thie spirittes, man, and be not affrayed to do thine office, my necke is verye short. Take heede therefore thou scute not awrie for savinge thine honestie." Soe passed Sir Thomas Moore out of this world to

I.e. a worthless fellow.

Everything worn by the person executed belonged to the executioner.

A gold coin worth about ten shillings.

God uppon the verie same daye in which himselfe had most desired. Soone after whose death came intelligence thereof to the Emperor Charles, whereuppon he sent for Sir Thomas Eliott, our Eenglish Embassodor, and sayd unto him, "My Lord Embassodor, wee understand that the Kinge your Master hath putt his faithfull servaunt and grave wise Councillor Sir Thomas Moore to death." Where unto Sir Thomas Eliott answered, that hee understood nothinge thereof. "Well," sayd the Emperor, "it is verie true, and this will we saye, that if wee had bine Mr. of such a servaunt, of whose doinges our selves have had these many yeares noe small experience, wee would rather have lost the best Cittie of our Dominiones, then have lost such a worthie Councillor." Which matter was bye Sir Thomas Eliott to my selfe, to my wife, to Mr. Clement and his wife, to Mr. John Haywood and his wife, and divers others of his frends accordingly reported.

William Roper, *Life of Sir Thomas More* (prefixed to More's *Utopia*, edited by J. R. Lumby, Cambridge, 1879), lii-lvi.

48. Henry VIII and the English Bible

"Every person or proprietary of any parish church within this realm shall, on this side of the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula next coming, provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin and also in English, and lay the same in the quire, for every man that will to read and look therein; and shall discourage no man from the reading any part of the Bible, but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read the same, as the very word of God and the spiritual food of man's soul; . . . ever gently and charitably exhorting them, that, using a sober and modest behaviour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same, they do in nowise

These two extracts, one from an injunction issued by the authority of Henry VIII, and the other from a parliamentary statute, are of interest as showing the uncertain attitude of the government towards that essential part of the Reformation,

stiffly or eagerly contend or strive one with another about the same, but refer the declaration of those places that be in controversy to the judgment of them that be better learned.”

the free use
of the Eng-
lish Bible.

Royal injunction issued 1536 (J. Lewis, *History of the English Translations of the Bible*, 103, 104, London, 1739).

Cap. I. Recourse must be had to the catholick and apostolick church for the decision of controversies; and therefore all books of the Old and New Testament in *English*, being of *Tindal's* false translation, or comprising any matter of Christian religion, articles of the faith, or holy scripture, contrary to the doctrine set forth sithence *Anno. Dom.* 1540, or to be set forth by the king, shall be abolished. No printer or bookseller shall utter any of the aforesaid books. No persons shall play in interlude, sing, or rhyme, contrary to the said doctrine. No person shall retain any *English* books or writings concerning matter against the holy and blessed sacrament of the altar, or for the maintenance of anabaptists, or other books abolished by the king's proclamation. There shall be no annotations or preambles in Bibles or New Testaments in *English*. The Bible shall not be read in *English* in any church. No women or artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen, nor labourers, shall read the New Testament in *English*. Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary to the King's instructions. And if any spiritual person preach, teach, or maintain anything contrary to the King's instructions or determinations, made or to be made, and shall be thereof convict, he shall for his first offence recant, for his second abjure and bear a fagot, and for his third shall be adjudged an heretick, and be burned and lose all his goods and chattels.

34 *H. VIII. c. i. Statutes at Large* (Cambridge, 1763), V, 129.

49. Protestant Revolution under
Edward VI (1547)

ANONY-
MOUS. The
chronicle
from which
this extract
was taken
formed a part
of the Regis-
ter-book of
the fraternity
of Grey
Friars. In
1539 they
made a
forced sur-
render of
their posses-
sions to
Henry VIII.

Item the 5th day after in September began the king's visitation at Paul's and all images pulled down : and the 9th day of the same month the said visitation was at St. Bride's, and after that in divers other parish churches ; and so all images pulled down through all England at that time, and all churches new white-limed with the commandments written on the walls. And at that time was the bishop of London put into the Fleet, and was there more than eight days ; and after him was the bishop of Winchester put there also.

Item at this same time was pulled up all the tomes, great stones, all the altars, with the stalls and walls of the quire and altars in the church that was some time the Gray friars and sold, and the quire made smaller. . . .

November.

Item the 17th day of the same month at night was pulled down the Rode in Paul's with Mary and John, with all the images in the church, and two of the men that laboured at it was slain and divers others sore hurt. Item also at that time was pulled down through all the king's dominion in every church all Roddes with all images, and every preacher preached in their sermons against all images. Also the new-years day after preached *doctor* Latemer that some time was bishop of Worcester preached at Paul's cross, and two Sundays following, etc. Also this same time was much speaking again the sacrament of the altar, that some called it Jack of the box, with divers other shameful names : and then was made a proclamation against such sayers, and it both the preachers and others spake against it, and so continued ; and at Easter following there began the communion, and confession but of those that would, as the book doth specify. And at this time was much preaching against the mass. And

I.e. yet.

the sacrament of the altar pulled down in divers places through the realm. Item after Easter began the service in English (at Paul's at the commandment of the dean at the time, William May,) and also in divers other parish churches. Item also at Whitsuntide began the sermons at St. Mary spital. Item also this year was Barking chapel at the Tower hill pulled down, and Saint Martin's at the chambulles end, Saint Nicolas in the chambulles, and Saint Ewyns, and within the Gatte of Newgate these were put into the church that some time was the Gray Friars: and also Strand church was pulled down to make the protector duke of Somerset's place larger.

I.e. the attendants at these churches.

Item this year was all the chantries put down. . . .

Item also the bishop of Winchester at that time Stephyn Gardner preached before the king at saint James in the field on Saint Peter's day at afternoon the which was then Friday, and in the morrow after was committed into the tower of London in ward. . . .

Item all those preachers that preached at Paul's cross at that time spake much against the bishop of Winchester; and also Cardmaker, that talked in Paul's 3 times a week had more or less of him.

Vicar of St. Bride's, and burned in 1555.

Item this same time was put down all going abroad of processions, and the sensyng at Paul's at Whitsuntide, and the Skinners' procession on Corpus Christi day, with all others, and had none other but the English procession in their churches.

Item at this time was much preaching through all England against the sacrament of the altar, save only M. Layton, and he preached in every place that he preached against them all: and so was much controversy and much besynes in Paul's every Sunday and sitting in the church and of none that were honest persons, but boys and persons of little reputation: and would have made more if there had not a way a bene tane. And at the last the 28. of December

following there was a proclamation that none of both parties should preach unto such time as the council had determined such things as they were in hand with all : . . .

Chronicle of the Gray Friars of London (edited by J. G. Nichols, Camden Society, 1857), 54-56.

By GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian ambassador to Edward VI and to Queen Mary during the years from 1551 to 1554.

The report is dated August 18, 1554.

50. Queen Mary of England (1554)

. . . The most Serene Madame Mary is entitled Queen of England and of France, and Defendress of the Faith. She was born on the 18th February 1515, so she yesterday completed her 38th year and six months. She is of low stature, with a red and white complexion, and very thin ; her eyes are white and large, and her hair reddish ; her face is round, with a nose rather low and wide ; and were not her age on the decline she might be called handsome rather than the contrary. She is not of a strong constitution, and of late she suffers from headache and serious affection of the heart, so that she is often obliged to take medicine, and also to be blooded. She is of very spare diet, and never eats until 1 or 2 p. m., although she rises at daybreak, when, after saying her prayers and hearing mass in private, she transacts business incessantly, until after midnight, when she retires to rest ; for she chooses to give audience not only to all the members of her Privy Council, and to hear from them every detail of public business, but also to all other persons who ask it of her. Her Majesty's countenance indicates great benignity and clemency, which are not belied by her conduct, for although she has had many enemies, and though so many of them were by law condemned to death, yet had the executions depended solely on her Majesty's will, not one of them perhaps would have been enforced ;

Queen Mary of England 149

but deferring to her Council in everything, she in this matter likewise complied with the wishes of others rather than with her own. She is endowed with excellent ability, and more than moderately read in Latin literature, especially with regard to Holy Writ; and besides her native tongue she speaks Latin, French, and Spanish, and understands Italian perfectly, but does not speak it. She is also very generous, but not to the extent of letting it appear that she rests her chief claim to commendation on this quality.

She is so confirmed in the Catholic religion that although the King her brother and his Council prohibited her from having the mass celebrated according to the Roman Catholic ritual, she nevertheless had it performed in secret, nor did she ever choose by any act to assent to any other form of religion, her belief in that in which she was born being so strong that had the opportunity offered she would have displayed it at the stake, her hopes being placed in God alone, so that she constantly exclaims: "*In te Domine confido, non confundar in æternum: si Deus est pro nobis, quis contra nos?*" Her Majesty takes pleasure in playing on the lute and spinet, and is a very good performer on both instruments; and indeed before her accession she taught many of her maids of honour. But she seems to delight above all in arraying herself elegantly and magnificently, and her garments are of two sorts; the one, a gown such as men wear, but fitting very close, with an under-petticoat which has a very long train; and this is her ordinary costume, being also that of the gentlewomen of England. The other garment is a gown and bodice, with wide hanging sleeves in the French fashion, which she wears on state occasions; and she also wears much embroidery, and gowns and mantles of cloth of gold and cloth of silver, of great value, and changes every day. She also makes great use of jewels, wearing them both on her chaperon and round her neck, and as trimming for her gowns; in which jewels she delights greatly, and although

A love of fine clothes seems to have been common to all the Tudors.

A French hood.

she has a great plenty of them left her by her predecessors, yet were she better supplied with money than she is, she would doubtless buy many more. . . .

Report of England made to the Senate by Giacomo Soranzo, late Ambassador to Edward VI and Queen Mary (Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1534-1554, No. 934. London, 1873).

CHAPTER IX—THE STRUGGLE WITH FOREIGN FOES

51. The Defences of England (1554)

By GIACOMO
SORANZO.
See No. 50.

FROM her whole realm of England, as seen heretofore, the Queen might easily raise 100,000 men, taking at the muster those deemed fit for military service, and who would perform it spontaneously ; but in case of war, it is not the custom to enroll every sort of person present at the muster, and from every district, but [merely] those nearest the scene of action. Besides this mode of enrolment, it is usual to order noblemen to collect such an amount of troops as required, which is done when the Crown does not trust everybody ; and the third mode of mustering forces—in case of foreign invasion, or some sudden insurrection of the natives—is to place a light on the top of certain huge lanterns fixed on heights in the villages, on appearance of which signal anywhere, all the neighbouring places do the like, and the forces muster at the first sight, so in a short time the general muster is made, the remedy and assistance proving alike efficient.

From the musters aforesaid some 15,000 horse might be raised, but the native English horse is not good for war, and they have not many foreign horses. The weapons used by the English are a spear, and not having much opportunity for providing themselves with body-armour, they wear, for the most part, breast-plates, with shirts of mail, and a skull cap, and sword. The rest would be footmen, of which they have four sorts : the first, which in number and valour far excels the others, consists of archers, in whom the sinew

of their armies consists, all the English being as it were by nature most expert bowmen, inasmuch as not only do they practise archery for their pleasure, but also to enable them to serve their King, so that they have often secured victory for the armies of England. The second sort consists of infantry, who carry a sort of bill; and there are some of these likewise who would make good soldiers. The other two sorts are harquebusiers and pikemen, of which weapons they have very little experience.

Harquebus
= a heavy
sort of mus-
ket fired from
a rest.

Italian and
German mer-
cenaries were
used in put-
ting down the
risings in
1549.

The Crown has occasionally subsidized German troops, taking them for the most part from the sea towns, from which they have sometimes had as many as 10,000, . . . About four years ago it was determined to raise a cavalry force of 1,000 men-at-arms in the French fashion, but after keeping them for a year, at a cost to the King of 80,000 crowns, they were disbanded, it having been found impossible to make the plan answer. They have no commanders of note in their pay, either English or foreign, but merely give a few pensions to some who served them on former occasions; and as to the affairs of the militia, they being regulated as in other countries, it is unnecessary to allude to them.

The navy de-
clined under
Mary.

Her Majesty's naval forces also are very considerable, as she has great plenty of English sailors, who are considered excellent for the navigation of the Atlantic, and an abundance of timber for ship-building, as they do not use galleys, owing to the strong tide in the ocean. Were her Majesty to take the vessels of ship-owners in all parts of the kingdom, the number would be immense; but she has only 80 of her own, including some galleons; and whenever she pleased, she could very easily obtain upwards of 150 from private individuals, but small, as in those parts but few large ships are seen, and they say that those of 400 butts and under, sail better than the larger ones. The head of the naval affairs is the Admiral, he being one of the Lords of the

Butt = a wine
measure of
about 126 gal-
lons (United
States).

Council, who, when a numerous fleet is fitted out, puts to sea in person, as he did this year, when he went out with 30 sail to secure the sea, and convey the most serene Prince of Spain on his coming; but when there is no such need, a Vice-admiral takes the command.

The most important deficiency in the great naval and military forces of England, is, that in the whole realm they have no persons, neither sailor nor soldier, capable of commanding either fleet or army. The only man they had was the Duke of Northumberland, who by his bravery distinguished himself in both capacities, and from the grade of a private gentleman (his father indeed was beheaded for treason by Henry VIII.) rose step by step through his abilities to the eminent position at length attained by him; but in like manner as the punishment of his rashness was well merited, so must the friends of England lament the loss of all his qualities with that single exception.

Her Majesty has a great quantity of very fine artillery, both in the fortresses beyond the sea, as well as in many places within the realm, and especially at the Tower of London, where the ammunition of every sort is preserved.

Report of England made to the Senate by Giacomo Soranzo, late Ambassador to Edward VI. and Queen Mary (Calendar of State Papers, Venetian 1534-1554, No. 934. London, 1873).

Lord Howard of Effingham. The Howard name is famous in naval annals. See No. 59. On this occasion Lord Howard formally exacted a recognition of England's claim to the dominion of the narrow seas, refusing to salute until Philip's admiral had lowered the Spanish colours.

Calais and Guisnes.

52. A Political Fast (1562)

XIV. And for increase of provision of fish by the more usual and common eating thereof, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from the feast of St. *Michael* the archangel in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred sixty-four, every Wednesday in every week throughout the whole year, which heretofore, hath not by the laws

The accompanying extract from a parliamentary statute indicates the interest of the Elizabethan government in the question of naval defence.

Notes to the act by Sir William Cecil, later Lord Burghley, describe the decay of the fisheries, and he adds, referring to the English navy, that "to build ships without men to man them is to set armour upon stakes on the sea shore."

These sections were added to conciliate extreme Protestant feeling.

or customs of this realm been used and observed as a fish-day, and which shall not happen to fall in *Christmas* week or *Easter* week, shall be hereafter observed and kept, as the Saturdays in every week be or ought to be: (2) and that no manner of person shall eat any flesh on the same day, otherwise than ought to be upon the common Saturday.

XV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, for the benefit and commodity of this realm, to grow as well in maintenance of the navy, as in sparing and increase of flesh victual of this realm, That from and after the feast of *Pentecost* next coming it shall not be lawful to any person or persons within this realm to eat any flesh upon any days now usually observed as fish-days, or upon any Wednesday now newly limited to be observed as fish-day; (2) upon pain that every person offending herein shall forfeit three pound for every time he or they shall offend, or else suffer three months close imprisonment without bail or mainprize.

XXXIX. *And because no manner of person shall misjudge of the intent of this estatute, limiting orders to eat fish, and to forbear eating of flesh, but that the same is purposely intended and meant politically for the increase of fishermen and mariners, and repairing of port-towns and navigation, and not for any superstition to be maintained in the choice of meats.*

XL. Be it enacted, That whosoever shall by preaching, teaching, writing or open speech notify, that any eating of fish, or forbearing of flesh, mentioned in this statute, is of any necessity for the saving of the soul of man, or that it is the service of God, otherwise than as other politick laws are and be; that then such persons shall be punished as spreaders of false news are and ought to be.

An act touching politick constitutions for the maintenance of the navy. 5 Eliz. c. 5. *Statutes at Large* (Cambridge, 1763), VI, 179, 185.

53. Elizabeth and Mary Stuart (1564)

The next morning Master Lattoun and Master Randolph, late agent for the Queen of England in Scotland, came to my lodging to convoy me to her Majesty, who was, as they said, already in the garden. . . . I found her Majesty pacing in an alley. . . . She inquired if the Queen had sent any answer anent the proposition of a marriage made to her by Master Randolph. I answered, as I was instructed, that the Queen thought little or nothing thereof, but looked for the meeting of some Commissioners upon the borders, with my Lord of Murray and the secretary, Lethington, to confer and treat upon all such matters of greatest importance. . . . So seeing your Majesties cannot so soon find the opportunity of meeting, so much desired between yourselves . . . the Queen, my mistress . . . is in hope that your Majesty will send my Lord of Bedford and my Lord Robert Dudley. She said that it appeared that I made but small account of my Lord Robert, seeing that I named the Earl of Bedford before him ; but, or it were long, she should make him a greater earl, and that I should see it done before my returning home ; for she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she should have married herself, if ever she had been minded to take a husband. . . . And to cause the Queen, my mistress, to think the more of him, I was required to stay till I had seen him made Earl of Leicester and Baron of Denbigh, with great solemnity at Westminster, herself helping to put on his ceremonial, he sitting upon his knees before her, keeping a great gravity and discreet behaviour. . . . Then she asked me how I liked of him. I said, as he was a worthy subject, he was happy that had encountered a princess that could discern and reward good service. "Yet," she said, "ye like better of yonder long lad,"

By SIR JAMES MELVILLE (1535-1617), prominent in Scottish history for half a century. During his boyhood, Melville served as page to the young Queen of Scots at the French court. After Mary's return to Scotland he was employed by her in various delicate diplomatic negotiations in which he displayed much tact and shrewdness. His influence was exerted in vain against such extreme measures as the murder of Rizzio and the Queen's marriage with Bothwell. After Mary's deposition he continued to take an active part in public affairs until James VI succeeded to the crown of England, when he withdrew to

his home in Fife and occupied himself in writing the *Memoirs*. From them this extract is taken describing his mission to England to discuss with Elizabeth the question of Mary's marriage, and especially to learn, if possible, Elizabeth's real intentions.

pointing towards my Lord Darnley, who, as nearest prince of the blood, bore the sword of honour that day before her. My answer again was, that no woman of spirit could make choice of such a man, that was liker a woman than a man ; for he was very lusty, beardless, and lady-faced. I had no will that she should think that I liked of him, or had any eye or dealing that way : albeit I had a secret charge to deal with his mother, my Lady Lennox, to purchase leave for him to pass in Scotland, where his father was already, that he might see the country and convoy the Earl, his father, back again to England.

Now the said Queen was determined to treat with the Queen, my sovereign, first anent her marriage with the Earl of Leicester, and for that effect promised to send commissioners unto the borders. In the meantime I was favourably and familiarly used ; for during nine days that I remained at Court, her Majesty pleased to confer with me every day, and sometimes thrice upon a day, to wit, aforenoon, afternoon, and after supper. Sometimes she would say, that since she could not meet with the Queen, her good sister herself, to confer familiarly with her, that she should open a good part of her inward mind unto me, that I might show it again unto the Queen ; and said that she was not so offended at the Queen's angry letter as for that she seemed to disdain so far the marriage with my Lord of Leicester, which she had caused Master Randolph to propose unto her. I said that it might be he had taught something thereof to my Lord of Murray and Lethington, but that he had not proposed the matter directly unto herself ; and that as well her Majesty, as they that were her most familiar counsellors, could conjecture nothing thereupon but delays and drifting of time, anent the declaring of her to be the second person which would try at the meeting of commissioners above specified. She said again that the trial and declaration thereof would be

I.e. next in succession to the English throne.

hasted forward, according to the Queen's good behaviour, and applying to her pleasure and advice in her marriage; and seeing the matter concerning the said declaration was so weighty, she had ordained some of the best lawyers in England diligently to search out who had the best right, which she would wish should be her dear sister rather than any other. I said I was assured that her Majesty was both out of doubt hereof, and would rather she should be declared than any other. . . . She said that she was never minded to marry, except she were compelled by the Queen, her sister's, hard behaviour towards her, in doing by her counsel, as said is. I said: "Madam, ye need not tell me that; I know your stately stomach; ye think if ye were married, ye would be but Queen of England, and now ye are King and Queen both; ye may not suffer a commander."

She appeared to be so affectioned to the Queen her good sister, that she had a great desire to see her: and because their desired meeting could not be hastily brought to pass, she delighted oft to look upon her picture, and took me into her bed chamber, and opened a little lettoun wherein were divers little pictures wrapped within paper, and written upon the paper, their names with her own hand. Upon the first that she took up was written, "My lord's picture." I held the candle and pressed to see my lord's picture. Albeit she was loth to let me see it, at length I by importunity obtained the sight thereof, and asked the same to carry home with me unto the Queen, which she refused, alleging she had but that one of his. I said again, that she had the principal; for he was at the furthest part of the chamber speaking with the secretary Cecil. Then she took out the Queen's picture and kissed it; and I kissed her hand for the great love I saw she bore to the Queen. . . .

. . . Her hair was redder than yellow, curled apparently of nature. Then she entered to discern what colour

I.e. cabinet.

I.e. Leicester.

Later Lord Burghley.

of hair was reported best, and inquired whether the Queen's or her's was best, and which of them two was fairest. I said, the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare which of them I thought fairest. I said, she was the fairest Queen in England, and ours the fairest Queen in Scotland. Yet she was earnest. I said they were both the fairest ladies of their courts, and that the Queen of England was whiter, but our Queen very lovesome. She inquired which of them was of highest stature. I said, our Queen. Then she said the Queen was over high, and that herself was neither over high or over low. Then she asked what kind of exercises she used. I said, that I was dispatched out of Scotland, that the Queen was but new come back from the highland hunting; and when she had leisure from the affairs of her company, she read upon good books, the histories of divers countries, and sometimes would play upon lute and virginals. She sperit if she played well. I said, reasonably for a Queen.

J. c. Huntingdon.

The same day after dinner, my Lord of Hunsden drew me up to a quiet gallery that I might hear some music, but he said he durst not avow it, where I might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. But after I had hearkened a while, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was toward the door, I entered within the chamber and stood still at the door post, and heard her play excellently well; but she left off so soon as she turned her about and saw me, and came forwards seeming to strike me with her left hand, and to think shame; alleging that she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary her alone, to eschew melancholy; and askit how I came there. I said, as I was walking with my Lord of Hunsden, as we passed by the chamber door, I heard such melody, which ravished and drew me within the chamber I wist not how; excusing my fault of homeliness,

as being brought up in the Court of France, and was now willing to suffer what kind of punishment would please her lay upon me for my offence. . . . Then again she wished that she might see the Queen at some convenient place of meeting. I offered to convey her secretly in Scotland by post, clothed like a page disguised, that she might see the Queen: as King James the 5 passed in France disguised, with his own ambassador, to see the Duc of Vendome's sister that should have been his wife; and how that her chamber should be kept, as though she were sick, in the meantime, and none to be privy thereto but my Lady Stafford, and one of the grooms of her chamber. She said, Alas if she might do it: and seemed to like well such kind of language, and used all the means she could to cause me persuade the Queen of the great love that she bore unto her, and was minded to put away all jealousies and suspicions, and in times coming a straiter friendship to stand between them than ever had been of before; and promised that my despatch should be delivered unto me very shortly by Master Cecil at London. . . .

At my home coming I found the Queen's Majesty still in Edinburgh to whom I declared the manner of my proceeding with the Queen of England. . . .

After that her Majesty had understood at great length all my handling and proceedings in England, she inquired whether I thought that Queen meant truly towards her as well inwardly in her heart as she appeared to do outwardly by her speech. I said, in my judgment, that there was neither plain dealing nor upright meaning, but great dissimulation, emulation and fear that her princely qualities should over soon chase her out, and displace her from the kingdom. . . .

By QUEEN ELIZABETH (1533-1603). After an intermission of four years Parliament was assembled in September, 1566. The extreme Protestant element in the Commons at once brought forward the vexed questions of the Queen's marriage and the succession. In spite of the royal prohibition the Commons persisted in urging their wishes in these matters, and the result was what Hallam calls "the most serious disagreement on record between the crown and the Commons since the days of Richard II and Henry IV." After a session spent in wrangling the Queen dissolved Parliament with the

54. A Speech of Queen Elizabeth (1566)

MY LORDS, AND OTHERS THE COMMONS OF THIS ASSEMBLY,

Although the Lord Keeper hath, according to Order, very well Answered in my Name, yet as a Periphrasis I have a few words further, to speak unto you: Notwithstanding I have not been used, nor love to do it, in such open Assemblies; yet now (not to the end to amend his talk) but remembring, that commonly Princes own words be better printed in the hearers memory, than those spoken by her Command, I mean to say thus much unto you. I have in this Assembly found so much dissimulation, where I always professed plainness, that I marvel thereat, yea two Faces under one Hood, and the Body rotten, being covered with two Vizors, Succession and Liberty, which they determined must be either presently granted, denied or deferred. In granting whereof, they had their desires, and denying or deferring thereof (those things being so plaudable, as indeed to all men they are) they thought to work me that mischief, which never Foreign Enemy could bring to pass, which is the hatred of my Commons. But alas they began to pierce the Vessel before the Wine was fined, and began a thing not foreseeing the end, how by this means I have seen my well-willers from mine Enemies, and can, as me seemeth, very well divide the House into four.

First the Broachers and workers thereof, who are in the greatest fault. Secondly, The Speakers, who by Eloquent Tales perswaded others, are in the next degree. Thirdly, The agreeers, who being so light of Credit, that the Eloquence of the Tales so overcame them, that they gave more Credit thereunto, than unto their own Wits. And lastly, those that sate still Mute, and medled not therewith, but rather wondred disallowing the matter; who in my Opinion, are most to be Excused.

But do you think, that either I am unmindful of your Surety by Succession, wherein is all my Care, considering I know my self to be mortal? No, I warrant you: Or that I went about to break your Liberties? No, it was never in my meaning, but to stay you before you fell into the Ditch. For all things have their time. And although perhaps you may have after me one better Learned, or Wiser; yet I assure you, none more careful over you: And therefore henceforth, whether I live to see the like Assembly or no, or whoever it be, yet beware however you prove your Princes Patience, as you have now done mine. And now to conclude, all this notwithstanding (not meaning to make a Lent of Christmas) the most part of you may assure your selves, that you depart in your Princes Grace.

Speech here given. Five years elapsed before Parliament was again summoned.

Speech of Queen Elizabeth to Parliament, 1566 (Sir Simon D'Ewes, Journals of all the Parliaments during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, London, 1682).

55. Mary Stuart's Escape from Lochleven (1568)

A gentleman came from Scotland with confirmation of the Queen's flight which took place thus.

The Queen of Scotland was advised by Lord Seton, her most confidential Catholic friend, and a very brave gentleman, by means of a lad of the house who never returned, that he on an appointed day would be with about fifty horsemen at the lake of Lochleven, where the Queen was held a prisoner. . . .

Guard was continually kept at the castle day and night, except during supper, at which time the gate was locked with a key, every one going to supper, and the key was

By GIOVANNI CORRER, Venetian Ambassador in France. The marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, with the Earl of Bothwell, led to a rebellion of the Scottish nobles. On the 15th of June Mary and Bothwell were defeated at Carberry Hill by the Confederate Lords.

Two days later the Queen was carried a captive to Lochleven Castle, a stronghold on the east coast of Scotland. Within the next few weeks she was compelled to abdicate, and her infant son James was crowned king with the Earl of Murray as Regent. But Mary did not give up hope, and on the second of May, 1568, she succeeded in making her escape from Lochleven, and renewed the struggle. — On Mary Stuart, see R. Rait, *Queen Mary, Queen of Scots*.

Lochleven Castle was on an island in the lake of Lochleven.

The Governor was Sir William Douglas.

The Hamiltons were supporters of the Queen.

always placed on the table where the Governor took his meals, and before him. The Governor is the uterine brother of the Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, the Queen's illegitimate brother, and her mortal enemy. The Queen, having attempted to descend from a window unsuccessfully, contrived that a page of the Governor's, whom she had persuaded to this effect, when carrying a dish, in the evening of the 2nd of May, to the table of his master with a napkin before him, should place the napkin on the key, and in removing the napkin take up the key with it, and carry it away unperceived by any one. Having done so, the page then went directly to the Queen, and told her all was ready; and she, having in the meanwhile been attired by the elder of the two maids who waited upon her, took with her by the hand the younger maid, a girl ten years old, and with the page went quietly to the door, and he having opened it, the Queen went out with him and the younger girl, and locked the gate outside with the same key, without which it could not be opened from within. They then got into a little boat which was kept for the service of the castle, and displaying a white veil of the Queen's with a red tassel, she made the concerted signal to those who awaited her that she was approaching. . . . The horsemen . . . came immediately to the lake, and received the Queen with infinite joy, and having placed her on horseback with the page and the girl, they conveyed her to the sea coast, at a distance of five miles from thence, because to proceed by land to the place which had been designated appeared manifestly too dangerous. All having embarked, the Queen was conducted to Niddry, a place belonging to Lord Seton, and from thence to Hamilton, a castle of the Duke of Châtellerauld, where his brother, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with other principal personages of those parts, acknowledged her as Queen. . . .

All Scotland is in motion, some declaring for the Queen, and some against her and for the Earl of Murray. . . .

Mary Stuart's Escape 163

With regard to her flight, it is judged here, by those who know the site, and how strictly she was guarded, that her escape was most miraculous, most especially having been contrived by two lads under ten years of age, who could not be presupposed to have the requisite judgment and secrecy.

To the greater satisfaction with the result may be added that the inmates of Lochleven Castle perceived the flight ; but being shut up within it, and thus made prisoners, they had to take patience, and to witness the Queen's escape, while they remained at the windows of the castle.

But now, if the current report be true, the Queen of Scotland, following the course of her fickle fortune, gives news of her troops having been routed near Glasgow, all her chief adherents being killed or made prisoners. . . . We are now awaiting information, as the Scotch here support themselves with the hope that all may not be true, assigning reasons for their doubts. . . .

Paris, 26th May.

The news of the defeat of the troops of the Queen of Scotland was true. She had assembled about eight thousand men, who had flocked to her from divers parts, and for greater security she wished to shut herself up in Dumbarton, which is a very strong castle, but she could not get there without crossing the Clyde, over which there is but one bridge near Glasgow, and that was already occupied by the enemy. It was therefore determined to cross the river where it flows into the sea, a number of boats being sent to the spot for that purpose. The Regent, aware of this, went in pursuit with four thousand men ; whereupon the Queen appointed as her Lieutenant-General the Earl of Argyle, who had just joined her, and who is her brother-in-law through his wife, Queen Mary's natural sister, and he with six thousand men gave Murray battle.

The contest lasted for three-quarters of an hour, when

May 13th.

the Queen's troops were worsted, but only one hundred and fifty of her followers were killed, for the Regent exerted himself extremely to prevent his troops shedding blood. The prisoners exceeded three hundred, including many noblemen, amongst whom, moreover, is that Lord Seton who was the chief instrument and leader in effecting the Queen's escape. Finding herself defeated, the Queen set out for England, accompanied by a son of the Duke of Châtellerault, by Lord Fleming, by the Earl of Maxwell, and some twenty-five other attendants, and she travelled a distance of one hundred and twenty-five miles without any rest. She stopped at a place called Workington, which is four miles within the English border. She did not discover herself, but was recognised by a Scotchman, who informed the warden of the castle, and the latter went immediately to receive her, with great marks of respect, and posted guards on all sides to prevent pursuit by the enemy.

Paris, 6th June.

Giovanni Correr, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory (Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1558-1580, Nos. 425 and 426, London, 1890).



56. Concerning the Keeping of the Queen of Scots (1569)

By SIR
WALTER
MILDMAY
(1520?-
1589),
distinguished
as a states-
man and
financier.
Although a
convinced
Protestant, he
was em-
ployed in
public ser-
vice by Mary.
Under Eliza-

The Question to be considered on, is, Whether it be less perilous to the Queen's Majesty, and the Realm, to retain the Queen of Scots in England, or to return her home into Scotland?

In which Question, these things are to be considered. On the one side, What Dangers are like to follow if she be retained here; and thereupon, if so avoiding of them, it

shall be thought good to return her, then what Cautions and Provisions are necessary to be had.

On the other side, are to be weighed the Dangers like to follow if she be returned home; and thereupon, if for eschewing of them, it shall be thought good to retain her here, then what Cautions and Provisions are in that Case necessary.

Dangers in retaining the Queen of Scots

Her unquiet and aspiring Mind, never ceasing to practice with the Queen's Subjects. Her late practice of Marriage between the Duke of *Norfolk* and her, without the Queen's knowledg. The Faction of the Papists, and other Ambitious Folks, being ready and fit Instruments for her to work upon. The Commiseration that ever followeth such as be in misery, though their Deserts be never so great. Her cunning and sugred entertainment of all Men that come to her, whereby she gets both Credit and Intelligence. Her practice with the French and Spanish Ambassadors, being more near to her in *England*, than if she were in *Scotland*; and their continual sollicitation of the Queen for her delivery, the denial whereof may breed War. The danger in her escaping out of Guard, whereof it is like enough she will give the Attempt. So as remaining here, she hath time and opportunity to practice and nourish Factions, by which she may work Confederacy, and thereof may follow Sedition and Tumult, which may bring peril to the Queen's Majesty and the State. Finally, it is said, That the Queen's Majesty, of her own disposition, hath no mind to retain her, but is much unquieted therewith, which is a thing greatly to be weighed. . . .

Dangers in returning Her

The manner how to deliver her Home, with the Queen's Majesty's Honour and Safety, is very doubtful. For if she be delivered in Guard, that came hither free, and at liberty,

beth he became Chancellor of the Exchequer. He used his influence to protect the Puritans, and he favoured a policy of intervention in behalf of the Protestants of the Continent. His interest in education was great, and in 1583 he founded Emmanuel College, Cambridge. In response to the Queen's charge having erected a Puritan foundation, he replied, "No, Madam, far be it from me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws; but I have set an acorn which, when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof."

how will that stand with the Queen's Honour, and with the Requests of the French and Spanish Kings, that have continually solicited her free delivery, either into *Scotland* or *France*? or if she die in Guard, either violently or naturally, her Majesty shall hardly escape slander. If, again, she be delivered home at Liberty, or if being in Guard she should escape, then these Perils may follow.

The suppressing of the present Government in *Scotland*, now depending upon the Queen's Majesty, and advancing of the contrary Faction depending upon the French. The alteration of Religion in *Scotland*. The renewing of the League, Offensive and Defensive, between *France* and *Scotland*, that hath so much troubled *England*. The renewing of her pretended claim to the Crown of this Realm. The likelihood of War to ensue between *France*, *Scotland*, and Us, and the bringing in of Strangers into that Realm to our annoyance, and great charge, as late experience hath shewed. The supportation that she is like to have of the French and Spanish Kings. And though Peace should continue between *England* and *Scotland*, yet infinite injuries will be offered by the Scots Queen's Ministers upon the Borders, which will turn to the great hurt of the Queen's Majesty's Subjects, or else to her greater Charges to redress them; for the change of the Government in *Scotland*, will change the Justice which now is had, unto all Injury and Unjustice. The likelihood she will revoke the Earl *Bothwell*, now her Husband, though unlawful, as is said, a man of most evil and cruel Affection to this Realm and to his own Countrymen: Or, if she should marry another that were a-like Enemy, the Peril must needs be great on either side. . . .

And albeit to these Dangers may be generally said, That such Provision shall be made, by Capitulations with her, and by Hostages from the Regent, and the Lords of *Scotland*, as all these Perils shall be prevented.

To that may be answered

That no Fact which she shall do here in *England* will hold, for she will alleage the same to be done in a Foreign Country, being restrained of Liberty. That there is great likelihood of escape, wheresoever she be kept in *Scotland*; for her late escape there, sheweth, how she will leave no way unsought to atchieve it; and the Country being, as 't is, greatly divided, and of nature marvellously Factious, she is the more like to bring it to pass. Or if the Regent, by any practice, should yield to a composition, or finding his Party weak, should give over his Regiment, Then what assurance have we, either of Amity or Religion. That the Regent may, be induced to do this, appeareth by his late secret Treaty with the Duke of *Norfolk*, for her Marriage, without the Queen's Majesty's knowledg. And though the Regent should persevere constant, yet if he should be taken away directly, or indirectly, (the like whereof is said, hath been attempted against him) then is all at large, and the Queen of Scots most like to be restored to her Estate, the Factions being so great in *Scotland*, as they are; so as the Case is very tickle and dangerous to hang upon so small a Thread, as the Life of one Man, by whom it appeareth the whole at this present is contained.

And touching the Hostages, though that Assurance might be good to preserve her from Violence in *Scotland*, yet it may be doubted how the same will be sufficient to keep her from escaping or governing again, seeing, for her part, she will make little Conscience of the Hostages if she may prevail; and the punishing of the Hostages will be a small satisfaction to the Queen's Majesty for the Troubles that may ensue. And for the doubt of her escape, or of Rebellion within this Realm, it may be said, That if she should not be well guarded, but should be left open to practice, then her Escape, and the other perils, might be doubted of; but

if the Queen's Majesty hold a stricter hand over her, and put her under the Care of a fast and circumspect Man, all practice shall be cut from her, and the Queen's Majesty free from that Peril. And more safe it is for the Queen to keep the Bridle in her own Hand, to restrain the Scottish Queen, than, in returning her home, to commit that trust to others, which by Death, composition, or abusing of one Person, may be disappointed.

And if she should, by any means, recover her Estate, the doubt of Rebellion there is not taken away, but rather to be feared, if she have ability to her Will. And if she find strength, by her own or Foreign Friends, she is not far off to give Aid, upon a main Land, to such as will stir for her; which, so long as she is here, they will forbear, lest it might bring most Peril to her self, being in the Queen's Hands. The like respect, no Doubt, will move Foreign Princes to become Requesters, and not Threatners, for her delivery.

And where it is said, That the Queen's Majesty cannot be quiet so long as she is here, but it may breed danger to her Majesty's Health; That is a Matter greatly to be weighed, for it were better to adventure all, than her Majesty should inwardly conceive any thing to the danger of her Health. But as that is only known to such as have more inward Acquaintance with her Majesty's disposition, than is fit for some other to have. So again, it is to be thought, that her Majesty being wise, if the Perils like to follow, in returning her Home, were laid before her; and if she find them greater than the other, she will be induced easily to change her Opinion, and thereby may follow to her Majesty's great satisfaction and quietness. . . .

Sir Walter Mildmay's Opinion concerning the keeping of the Queen of Scots (G. Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, London, 1683, Part II, Book III, No. 12).

57. Burghley to Elizabeth on Matters of State (circ. 1583)

By WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY (1520-1598), Chief Secretary of State and Lord Treasurer under Elizabeth. In every great crisis the Queen turned to Cecil, and although she did not always follow his advice, yet she was much influenced by his views. "By him more than by any other single man during the last thirty years of his life was the history of England shaped." Burghley's temper was cautious and compromising, but he favoured a more vigorous policy of opposition to Spain, and of support to the Protestants of the Continent than suited Elizabeth. — On Burghley, see Martin Hume, *The Great Lord Burghley*.

Blank in the original.

. . .¹ The second point of the general part of my discourse is, the consideration of your foreign enemies, which may prove either able or willing to hurt you ; and those are Scotland, for his pretence and neighbourhood ; and Spain, for his religion and power :[†] As for France, I see not why he should not rather be made a friend than an enemy ; for, though he agree not with your Majesty in matters of conscience and religion, yet, in *hoc tertio*, he doth agree, that he feareth the greatness of Spain ; and therefore that may solder the link which religion hath broken, and make him hope, by your Majesty's friendship, to secure himself against so potent an adversary.¹

And, though he were evilly affected towards your Majesty, yet, the present condition of his estate considered, I do not think it greatly to be feared, himself being a prince who hath given assurance to the world, that he loves his ease much better than victories, and a prince that is neither beloved nor feared of his people : And the people themselves being of a very light and unconstant disposition ; and besides they are altogether unexperienced, and undisciplined how to do their duties, either in war or peace ; they are ready to begin and undertake any enterprise before they enter into consideration thereof, and yet weary of it before it be well begun ; they are generally poor and weak, and subject to sickness at sea ; divided and subdivided into sundry heads, and several factions, not only between the Huguenots and Papists, but also between the Montmorencies the Guises and the and the people being oppressed by all do hate all ; so that, for a well settled and established government and commonwealth as your Majesty's is, I see no grounds why to misdoubt or fear them, but only so far

Firebrands.

Leader of the
Huguenot
party, and
later Henry
IV of France.

forth as the Guisards happen to serve for boutefeus in Scotland ; and while it shall please your Majesty, but with reasonable favour to support the king of Navarre, I do not think that the French King will ever suffer you to be from thence annoyed.

Therefore, for France, your Majesty may assure your self of one of these two, either to make with him a good alliance, in respect of the common enemy of both kingdoms, or at the least so muzzle him, as that he shall have little power to bite you.

James VI of
Scotland,
later James I
of England.

As for Scotland, if your Majesty assist and help those noblemen there, which are by him suspected, your Majesty may be sure of this, that those will keep him employed at home ; and also, whilst he is a protestant, no foreign prince will take part with him against your Majesty : And of himself he is not able to do much harm, the better part of his nobles being for your Majesty ; and, if in time he should grow to be a papist, your Majesty shall always have a strong party at his own doors, in his own kingdom, to restrain his malice ; who, since they depend upon your Majesty, they are, in all policy, never to be abandoned ; for, by this resolution, the Romans anciently, and the Spaniards presently, have most of all prevailed : and, on the contrary, the Macedonians in times past, and the Frenchmen in our age, have lost all their foreign friends, because of their aptness to neglect those who depended upon them : but, if your Majesty could by any means possible devise to bring in again the Hamiltons, he should then be beaten with his own weapons, and should have more cause to look to his own succession, than to be too busy abroad. But Spain, yea Spain, it is in which, as I conceive, all causes do concur, to give a just alarm to your Highness's excellent judgment.

First, because in religion he is so much the Pope's, and the Pope in policy so much his, as that whatever the mind of Pope Gregory, and the power of King Philip, will or can

compass, or bring upon us, is in all probability to be expected; himself being a prince whose closet hath brought forth greater victories than all his father's journies, absolutely ruling his subjects, a people all one-hearted in religion, constant, ambitious, politick, and valiant; the King rich and liberal, and, which of all I like worst, greatly beloved among all the discontented party of your Highness's subjects. . . . Now as of him is the chief cause of doubt, so of him the chief care must be had of providence.

Gregory
XIII.

The
Catholics.

But this offers a great question, whether it be better to procure his amity? Or stop the course of his enmity? As of a great lion, whether it be more wisdom, to trust to the taming of him, or tying of him?

I confess this requires a longer and a larger discourse, and a better discourser than myself; and therefore I will stay myself from roving over so large a field: but only, with the usual presumption of love, yield this to your gracious consideration.

First, if you have any intention of league, that you see upon what assurance, or at least what likelihood, you may have that he will observe the same.

Secondly, that in a parlying season it be not as a countenance unto him the sooner to overthrow the Low Countries, which hitherto have been as a counterscarp to your Majesty's kingdom.

But, if you do not league, then your Majesty is to think upon means for strengthening yourself, and weakening of him, and therein your own strength is to be tendered both at home and abroad.

For your home strength, in all reverence I leave it, as the thing which contains in effect the universal consideration of government.

For your strength abroad, it must be in joining in good confederacy, or at least intelligence, with those that would willingly embrace the same.

Truly not so much at the Turk and Morocco, but at some time they may serve your Majesty to great purpose; but from Florence, Ferrara, and especially Venice, I think your Majesty might reap great assurance and service, for undoubtedly they abhor his frauds, and fear his greatness.

And for the Dutch, and Northern Princes, being in effect of your Majesty's religion, I cannot think but their alliance may be firm, and their power not to be contemned: even the countenance of united powers doth much in matters of state.

For the weakening of him, I would, I must confess from my heart, wish that your Majesty did not spare thoroughly and manifestly to make war upon him both in the Indies, and the Low Countries, which would give themselves unto you; and that you would rather take him, while he hath one hand at liberty, than both of them sharply weaponed.

But, if this seem foolish hardiness to your Majesty's wisdom, yet, I dare not presume to counsel, but beseech your Majesty that what stay and support your Majesty, without war, can give to the Low Countries, you would vouchsafe to do it, since, as king of Spain, without the Low Countries he may trouble our skirts of Ireland, but never come to grasp with you; but, if he once reduce the Low Countries to an absolute subjection, I know not what limits any man of judgment can set unto his greatness. . . .

Lord-Treasurer Burleigh, Advice to Queen Elisabeth in Matters of Religion and State. (The Harleian Miscellany, London, 1809, Vol. II, 281-283.)

58. Execution of the Queen of Scots (1586)

The accompanying account is indorsed in Lord Burghley's hand, "8 Feb. 1586. The Manner of the Q. of Scotts death at Fodryng-hay, wr. by Ro. Wy."

"A Reporte of the MANNER of the EXECUTION of the Sc. Q. performed the viijth of February, Anno 1586 in the great hall of Fotheringhay, with Relacion of Speeches uttered and Accions happening in the said Execution, from the delivery of the said Sc. Q. to Mr. Thomas Androwes Esquire Sherife of the County of Northampton unto the end of the said Execucion.

"First, the said Sc. Q. being caryed by two of Sir Amias Pauletts gentlemen, and the Sherife going before her, cam most willingly out of her chamber into an entery next the Hall, at which place the Earle of Shrewsbury and the Earle of Kente, commissioners for the execucion, with the two gouvernors of her person, and divers knights and gentlemen did meete her, where they found one of the Sc. Q. servauntes, named Melvin, kneeling on his knees, who uttered these wordes with teares to the Q. of Sc. his mistris, 'Madam it wilbe the sorrowfullest messuage that ever I caryed, when I shall report that my Queene and deare Mistris is dead.' Then the Qu. of Sc. shedding teares aunswered him, 'You ought to rejoyce rather then weepe for that the end of Mary Stewards troubles is now come. . .'

Then she turned her to the Lordes and told them that she had certayne requestes to make unto them. One was for a some of mony, which she said Sir Amias Paulett knewe of, to be paide to one Curle her servaunte; next, that all her servauntes might enjoy that quietly which by her Will and Testamente she had given unto them; and lastly that they might be all well intreated, and sent home safely and honestly into their contries. 'And this I doe conjure you, my Lordes, to doe.'

Aunswere was made by Sir Amias Paulett, 'I doe well remember the mony your Grace speaketh of, and your Grace neede not to make any doubte of the not performaunce of your requestes, for I doe surely thincke they shalbe graunted.'

'I have,' said she, 'one other request to make unto you, my Lordes, that you will suffer my poore servauntes to be present about me at my death, that they may reporte when they come into their cuntryes how I dyed a true woman to my religion.'

Then the Earle of Kente, one of the commissioners, aunswere, 'Madam it cannot welbe graunted, for that it is feared lest some of them wold with speeches both trouble and greive your Grace and disquiett the company, of which we have had already some experience, or seeke to wipe their napkins in some of your bloode, which were not convenient.' 'My Lord,' said the Q. of Sc. 'I will give my word and promise for them that they shall not doe any such thinge as your Lordship hath named. Alas ! poor sowles, yt wold doe them good to bidd me farewell. And I hope your Mistres, being a mayden Queene, in regard of woman-hood, will suffer me to have some of my owne people aboute me at my death. And I know she hath not given you so straight a commission but that you may graunt me more then this, if I were a farr meaner woman than I am.' And then (seeming to be greeved) with some teares uttered thes wordes ; 'You know that I am cosin to your Queene, and discended from the bloode of Henry the Seventh, a maryed Queene of Fraunce, and the anoynted Queene of Scotlande.'

Whereupon, after some consultacion, they graunted that she might have some of her servauntes accordinge to her Grace's request, and therefore desired her to make choice of halfe a dosen of her men and women : Who presently said, that of her men she wold have Melvin, her poticary, her surgeon, and one other old man beside ; and of her women, those two that did use to lye in her chamber.

After this She, being supported by Sir Amias two gentlemen aforesaid, and Melvin carying up her trayne, and also accompanied with the Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen aforenamed, the Sherife going before her, she passed out of the entery into the great Hall, with her countenance carelesse, importing thereby rather mirth then mournfull cheare, and so she willingly stepped up to the scaffold which was prepared for her in the Hall, being two foote high and twelve foote broad, with rayles round aboute, hanged and couvered with blacke, with a lowe stoole, long cushion, and blocke, couvered with blacke also. Then, having the stoole brought her, she satt her downe; by her, on the right hand, satt the Erle of Shrewsbury and the Erle of Kent, and on the left hand stoode the Sherife, and before her the two executioners; round about the rayles stood Knightes, Gentlemen, and others.

Then, silence being made, the Queenes Majesties Commission for the execution of the Queen of Scots was openly redd by Mr. Beale clarke of the Counsell; and thes wordes pronounced by the Assembly, 'God save the Queene.' During the reading of which Commission the Q. of Sc. was silent, listening unto it with as small regarde as if it had not concerned her at all; and with as cheerfull a countenance as if it had been a Pardon from her Majestie for her life; using asmuch straungenes in worde and deede as if she had never knowne any of the Assembly, or had been ignorant of the English language.

Then on Doctor Fletcher, dean of Peterborowe, stand- *I.e. one.*
ing directly before her, without the rayle, bending his body with great reverence, began to utter this exhortacion following: 'Madame the Q. most excellent Ma^{tie} &c.' and iterating theis wordes three or fowre tymes, she told him, 'Mr. Dean, I am settled in the auncient Catholique Romaine religion, and mynd to spend my bloode in defence of it.' Then Mr. Dean said, 'Madame, chaung your opinion and

repent you of your former wickednes, and settle your faith onely in Jesus Christ, by him to be saved.' Then she aunswered 'agayne and againe, 'Mr. Deane, trouble not yourselfe any more, for I am settled and resolved in this my religion, and am purposed therein to die.' Then the Earle of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Kente, perceavinge her so obstinate, tolde her that sithence she wold not heere the exhortacion begonn by Mr. Dean, 'We will pray for your Grace, that it stande with Gods will you may have your harte lightened, even at the last howre, with the true knowledge of God, and so die therein.' Then she aunswered 'If you will pray for me, my Lordes, I will thanke you; but to joyne in prayer with you I will not, for that you and I are not of one religion.'

Then the Lordes called for Mr. Dean, who kneeling on the scaffold staires, began this Prayer, "O most gracious God and merciful Father," &c. all the Assembly, saving the Queen of Scots and her servauntes, saying after him. During the saying of which prayer, the Queen of Scots, sitting upon a stoole, having about her necke an *Agnus Dei*, in her hand a crucifix, at her girdle a pair of beades with a golden crosse at the end of them, a Latin booke in her hand, began with teares and with loud and fast voice to pray in Latin; and in the midst of her prayers she slided off from her stoole, and kneeling, said divers Latin prayers; and after the end of Mr. Deans prayer, she kneelinge, prayed in Englishe to this effecte: 'for Christ his afflicted Church, and for an end of their troubles; for her sonne; and for the Queen's Majestie, that she might prosper and serve God aright.' She confessed that she hoped to be saved 'by and in the bloode of Christ, at the foote of whose Crucifix she wold shedd her bloode.' . . .

Her prayer being ended, the Executioners, kneeling, desired her Grace to forgive them her death: who aunswered, 'I forgive you with all my harte, for now, I hope,

you shall make an end of all my troubles.' Then they, with her two women, helping of her up, began to disrobe her of her apparell; then, She, laying her crucifix upon the stoole, one of the executioners tooke from her necke the *Agnus Dei*, which she, laying handes of it, gave it to one of her women, and told the executioner that he shold be aunswered mony for it. . . .

The attire of those executed was the perquisite of the executioners.

All this tyme they were pulling off her apparell, she never chaunged her countenaunce, but with smiling cheere she uttered thes wordes, 'that she never had such groomes to make her unready, and that she never put off her clothes before such a company.'

Then She, being stripped of all her apparell saving her peticote and kirtle, her two women beholding her made great lamentacion, and crying and crossing themselves prayed in Latin; She, turning herselfe to them, imbrasinge them, said thes wordes in French, '*Ne crie vous, j'ay prome pour vous,*' and so crossing and kissing them, bad them pray for her and rejoyce and not weepe, for that now they should see an ende of all their Mistris troubles.

She was clad in a brown velvet skirt and black satin bodice with long sleeves.

Then She, with a smiling countenaunce, turning to her men servauntes, as Melvin and the rest, standing upon a bench nigh the Scaffold, who sometime weeping sometime crying out alowde, and continually crossing themselves, prayed in Latin, crossing them with her hand bad them farewell; and wishing them to pray for her even untill the last howre.

This donn, one of the women having a Corpus Christi cloth lapped up three-corner-wayes, kissing it, put it over the Q. of Sc. face, and pinned it fast to the caule of her head. Then the two women departed from her, and she kneeling downe upon the cushion most resolutely, and without any token or feare of death, she spake alowde this Psalme in Latin, '*In te Domine confido, non confundar in eternam,*' &c. . . . Then lying upon the blocke most

quietly and stretching out her armes cryed, '*In manus tuas, Domine,*' etc. three or fowre times. . . .

Official Narrative of the Execution sent to the Court. H. Ellis,
Original Letters (London, 1827), Series II, Vol. III, 113-117.

The following letters are addressed to Sir Francis Walsyngham (1530?-1590), one of the greatest of the Elizabethan statesmen, and at the time of the Armada principal Secretary of State. — The first and fourth of these letters are by Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham and Lord High Admiral under Elizabeth. He belonged to a Catholic family, famous in English history of the sixteenth century. See No. 51.

Howard was blamed for this. Later Raleigh

59. The Fight with the Armada (1588)

Howard to Walsyngham

Sir:—I will not trouble you with any long letter; we are at this present otherwise occupied than with writing. Upon Friday, at Plymouth, I received intelligence that there were a great number of ships descried off of the Lizard; whereupon, although the wind was very scant, we first warped out of harbour that night, and upon Saturday turned out very hardly, the wind being at South-West; and about three of the clock in the afternoon, descried the Spanish fleet, and did what we could to work for the wind, which [by this] morning we had recovered, descrying their f[leet to] consist of 120 sail, whereof there are 4 g[alleasses] and many ships of great burden.

At nine of the [clock] we gave them fight, which continued until one. [In this fight] we made some of them to bear room to stop their leaks; notwithstanding we durst not adventure to put in among them, their fleet being so strong. But there shall be nothing either neglected or unhazarded, that may work their overthrow.

Sir, the captains in her Majesty's ships have behaved themselves most bravely and like men hitherto, and I doubt not will continue, to their great commendation. And so, recommending our good success to your godly prayers,

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I bid you heartily farewell. From aboard the Ark, thwart of Plymouth, the 21st of July, 1588.

Your very loving friend,

C. HOWARD.

Sir, the southerly wind that brought us back from the coast of Spain brought them out. God blessed us with turning us back. Sir, for the love of God and our country, let us have with some speed some great shot sent us of all bigness; for this service will continue long; and some powder with it.

Drake to Walsyngham

Right Honourable: — This bearer came aboard the ship I was in in a wonderful good time, and brought with him as good knowledge as we could wish. His carefulness therein is worthy recompense, for that God has given us so good a day in forcing the enemy so far to leeward as I hope in God the Prince of Parma and the Duke of Sidonia shall not shake hands this few days; and whensoever they shall meet, I believe neither of them will greatly rejoice of this day's service. The town of Calais hath seen some part thereof, whose Mayor her Majesty is beholden unto. Business commands me to end. God bless her majesty, our gracious Sovereign, and give us all grace to live in his fear. I assure your Honour this day's service hath much appalled the enemy, and no doubt but encouraged our army. From aboard her Majesty's good ship the Revenge, this 29th of July, 1588.

Your Honour's most ready to be commanded,

FRA. DRAKE.

There must be great care taken to send us munition and victual whithersoever the enemy goeth.

Yours, FRA. DRAKE.

wrote, "The Spaniards had an army aboard them, and he had none; they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that had he entangled himself with these great and powerful vessels, he had greatly endangered this kingdom of England."

The *Ark*, 800 tons, was the flagship.

By SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, born 1540? died in the West Indies in 1596. Most active and brilliant of all the Elizabethan seamen. At this time he was vice-admiral. — See J. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*.

The Prince of Parma was in command of the Spanish land forces and at the head of the whole expedition.

Hawkins to Walsyngham

The Duke of Medina-Sidonia was in command of the Armada. He was of high birth and noble character, but utterly ignorant of naval affairs.

The Revenge was captured by the Spaniards in 1591, the only ship during the whole war to strike her colours to the enemy. "This ship, for the space of 15 hours, sate like a stagge amongst Hounds, at the bay, and was sieged and fought with, in turne, by 15 great ships of Spaine." Francis Bacon.

By SIR JOHN HAWKINS, who died off Puerto Rico in 1595. He was one of the most daring of the sea dogs, but was charged with unscrupulous dealings even toward his friends in his greed for gain.

My bounden duty humbly remembered unto your good Lordship : — I have not busied myself to write often to your Lordship in this great cause, for that my Lord Admiral doth continually advertise the manner of all things that doth pass. So do others that understand the state of all things as well as myself. We met with this fleet somewhat to the westward of Plymouth upon Sunday in the morning, being the 21st of July, where we had some small fight with them in the afternoon. By the coming aboard one of the other of the Spaniards, a great ship, a Biscayan, spent her foremast and bowsprit ; which was left by the fleet in the sea, and so taken up by Sir Francis Drake the next morning. The same Sunday there was, by a fire chancing by a barrel of powder, a great Biscayan spoiled and abandoned, which my Lord took up and sent away.

The Tuesday following, athwart of Portland, we had a sharp and long fight with them, wherein we spent a great part of our powder and shot, so as it was not thought good to deal with them any more till that was relieved.

The Thursday following, by the occasion of the scattering of one of the great ships from the fleet, which we hoped to have cut off, there grew a hot fray, wherein some store of powder was spent ; and after that, little done till we came near to Calais, where the fleet of Spain anchored, and our fleet by them ; and because they should not be in peace there, to refresh their water or to have conference with those of the Duke of Parma's party, my Lord Admiral, with firing of ships, determined to remove them ; as he did, and put them to the seas ; in which broil the chief galleass spoiled her rudder, and so rode ashore near the town of Calais, where she was possessed of our men, but so aground as she could not be brought away.

That morning, being Monday, the 29th of July, we fol-

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lowed the Spaniards; and all that day had with them a long and great fight, wherein there was great valour showed generally of our company. In this battle there was spent very much of our powder and shot; and so the wind began to blow westerly, a fresh gale, and the Spaniards put themselves somewhat the northward, where we follow and keep company with them. In this fight there was some hurt done among the Spaniards. A great ship of the galleons of Portugal, her rudder spoiled, and so the fleet left her in the sea. I doubt not but all these things are written more at large to your Lordship than I can do; but this is the substance and material matter that hath passed.

Our ships, God be thanked, have received little hurt, and are of great force to accompany them, and of such advantage that with some continuance at the seas, and sufficiently provided of shot and powder, we shall be able, with God's favour, to weary them out of the sea and confound them. Yet, as I gather certainly, there are amongst them 50 forcible and invincible ships which consist of those that follow, viz.:—

Nine galleons of Portugal of 800 ton apiece, saving two of them are but 400 ton apiece.

Twenty great Venetians and argosies of the seas within the Strait, of 800 apiece.

One ship of the Duke of Florence of 800 ton.

Twenty great Biscayans of 500 or 600 ton.

Four galleasses, whereof one is in France.

There are 30 hulks, and 30 other small ships, whereof little account is to be made. . . .

At their departing from Lisbon, the soldiers were twenty thousand, the mariners and others eight thousand; so as, in all, they were twenty-eight thousand men. Their commission was to confer with the Prince of Parma, as I learn, and then to proceed to the service that should be there concluded; and so the Duke to return into Spain with

He has the bad fame of being one of the first Englishmen to engage in the slave trade. At the time of the Armada he was rear-admiral.

"On that Monday, the 29th of July, was fought the great battle which, more distinctly, perhaps, than any battle of modern times, has moulded the history of Europe, the battle which curbed the gigantic power of Spain, which shattered the Spanish prestige, and established the basis of England's empire." Laughton.

Galleon: a high-built ship of war; also used by Spain in the American trade. Gallias: a low-built ship, often used in war.

these ships and mariners, the soldiers and their furniture being left behind. Now this fleet is here, and very forcible, and must be waited upon with all our force, which is little enough. There would be an infinite quantity of powder and shot provided, and continually sent abroad; without the which great hazard may grow to our country; for this is the greatest and strongest combination, to my understanding, that ever was gathered in Christendom; therefore I wish it, of all hands, to be mightily and diligently looked unto and cared for.

. . . And so praying to God for a happy deliverance from the malicious and dangerous practice of our enemies, I humbly take my leave. From the sea, aboard the Victory, the last of July, 1588.

The Spaniards take their course for Scotland; my Lord doth follow them. I doubt not, with God's favour, but we shall impeach their landing. There must be order for victual and money, powder and shot, to be sent after us.

Your Lordship's humbly to command,

JOHN HAWKYNs.

This is the copy of the letter I sent to my Lord Treasurer, whereby I shall not need to write to your Honour. Help us with furniture, and, with God's favour, we shall confound their devices.

Your Honour's ever bounden,

JOHN HAWKYNs.

I pray your Honour bear with this, for it is done in haste and bad weather.

J. H.

Howard to Walsyngham

Sir: — I did write yesterday by my Lord of Cumberland, to her Majesty, to my Lord Treasurer, and to you, being athwart of Harwich, a-seaboard 10 leagues. My Lord bare

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with a pinnace into Harwich ; I bare with some of the ships into Margate road ; where the rest be gone I do not know, for we had a most violent storm as ever was seen at this time of the year, that put us asunder athwart of Norfolk, amongst many ill-favoured sands ; but I trust they do all well, and I hope I shall hear of them this night or to-morrow.

I pray to God we may hear of victuals, for we are generally in great want ; and also that I may know how the coast ships of the west shall be victualled ; and also that order be taken for the victualling and for munition for the ships of London. I know not what you think of it at the Court, but I do think, and so doth all here, that there cannot be too great forces maintained yet for five or six weeks, on the seas ; for although we have put the Spanish fleet past the Frith, and I think past the Isles, yet God knoweth whether they go either to the Nase of Norway or into Denmark or to the Isles of Orkney to refresh themselves, and so return ; for I think they dare not return with this dishonour and shame to their King, and overthrow of their Pope's credit. Sir, sure bind, sure find. A kingdom is a great wager. Sir, you know security is dangerous ; and God had not been our best friend, we should have found it so. Some made little account of the Spanish force by sea ; but I do warrant you, all the world never saw such a force as theirs was ; and some Spaniards that we have taken, that were in the fight at Lepanto, do say that the worst of our four fights that we have had with them did exceed far the fight they had there ; and they say that at some of our fights we had 20 times as much great shot there plied as they had there. Sir, I pray to God that we may be all thankful to God for it ; and that it may be done by some order, that the world may know we are thankful to him for it.

Sir, I pray you let me hear what the Duke of Parma doth, with some speed ; and where his forces by sea are.

In spite of the constant reference to the need of provisions and powder and shot, it seems certain that the government showed neither parsimony nor carelessness. The shortage was due apparently to an imperfectly developed commissariat.

Battle with the Turks, 1571.

Sunday, November 24th, was appointed as a day of thanksgiving.

Sir Edward
Stafford,
Ambassador
at Paris.

Formerly
Spanish Am-
bassador in
London, and
at this time
Ambassador
at Paris.

Sir, in your next letters to my brother Stafford, I pray write to him that he will let Mendoza know that her Majesty's rotten ships dare meet with his master's sound ships; and in buffeting with them, though they were three great ships to one of us, yet we have shortened them 16 to 17; whereof there is three of them a-fishing in the bottom of the seas. God be thanked of all. . . .

Sir, being in haste and much occupied, I bid you most heartily farewell. Margate road, the 8th of August.

Your most assured loving friend,

C. HOWARD.

Sir, if I hear nothing of my victuals and munition this night here, I will gallop to Dover to see what may be [got] there, or else we shall starve.

State Papers relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada
(edited by J. K. Laughton, London, 1894), ccxii, 80; ccx, iii, 65, 71; ccxiv, 50.

60. Philip II of Spain (1598)

By FRAN-
CESCO SO-
RANZO,
Venetian
Ambassador
in Spain,
1598.

Philip II was born in 1527, and at the age of twenty-nine, on the abdication of his father, the Emperor Charles V, he became the most powerful monarch in the world. For more than forty years he bore

The King is dead. His Majesty expired at the Escorial this morning at daybreak, after having received all the sacraments of the church with every sign of devoutness, piety, and religion.

Although change is usually popular, yet nobles and people, rich and poor, universally show great grief.

His Majesty lived seventy-one years, three months, and twenty-four days; he reigned forty-two years, ten months and sixteen days. He was a Prince who fought with gold rather than with steel, by his brain rather than by his arms. He has acquired more by sitting still, by negotiation, by diplomacy, than his father did by armies and by war. He was one of the richest Princes the world has ever seen, yet he has

left the revenues of the kingdom and Crown burdened with about a million of debts. He owes to his good fortune rather than to the terror of his name the important kingdom of Portugal, with all its territories and treasure; on the other hand, he has lost Flanders. In Africa he has gained Pignon, but lost Goletta. Profoundly religious, he loved peace and quiet. He displayed great calmness, and professed himself unmoved in good or bad fortune alike. He had vast schemes in his head, witness his simultaneous attack on England and on France, while assisting his son-in-law to acquire Saluzzo, while attempting to expel the French from Italy, while facing the revolution in Flanders.

On great occasions, in the conduct of wars, in feeding the civil war in France, in the magnificence of his buildings, he never counted the cost; he was no close reckoner, but lavished his gold without a thought; but in small matters, in the government of his household, in his presents and rewards, he was more parsimonious than became his station. He sought aggrandisement for his kingdom at the expense of others; yet he did not hesitate to dismember his kingdom by ceding Siena to the Grand Duke, Piacenza to the Duke of Parma, Flanders and Burgundy to his daughter. He held his desires in absolute control and showed an immutable and unalterable temper. He has feigned injuries, and feigned not to feel injuries, but he never lost the opportunity to avenge them. He hated vanity, and therefore never allowed his life to be written. No one ever saw him in a rage, being always patient, phlegmatic, temperate, melancholy. In short, he has left a glorious memory of his royal name, which may serve as an example not only unto his posterity and his successors, but unto strangers as well. . . . Madrid, 13th September 1598.

Francesco Soranzo, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate (Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1592-1603, No. 737, London, 1897).

the burden of the Spanish empire.

With infinite patience and labour he strove to gain the ends he had in view, and when his long reign came to a close in 1598, he had "nearly ruined Spain, but his dream of centralisation of authority and uniformity of faith had been realised." —

On Philip, see Martin Hume, *Philip II.*

Portugal was conquered and annexed by Spain in 1580.

ANONY-
MOUS. From
the *Book of
Howth*, a his-
tory of Ire-
land by
various
writers, pre-
served in the
manuscripts
collection of
Sir George
Carew
(† 1629), who
was active in
public ser-
vice in Ire-
land and
England
during the
reigns of
Elizabeth
and James I.

Although the
Irish were
nominally
conquered in
the twelfth
century (see
No. 22), yet
England ex-
ercised little
real author-
ity over the
country
before the
Tudor
period. The
usual plan
was to ap-
point an
English vice-
roy, who
never visited
Ireland, and
to give the
work of gov-
ernment to a
deputy
chosen from
the Norman-
Irish nobles.
In the reigns
of Edward
IV and

CHAPTER X — IN THE DAYS OF THE TUDORS

61. Henry VII and the Earl of Kildare

AFTER this, a Deputy was sent over from the King, which required the Earl that he would let the Bishop at large; which did. After the Earl had his pardon, and came to Doublinge, where he was taken in the evening, and sent forthwith in a bark that then was at Dublinge, in a readiness, and so sent to England, and brought to the King to answer to such things that was laid to his charge. Amongst all other, the Bishop of Methe being there, did charge the Earl with sundry matters of great importance, to which matters the Earl could not make answer, but stayed his tongue awhile, and said he was not learned to make answers in such weighty matters, nor at that time was he not well advised to them; for he said that the Bishop was learned, and so was not he, and those matters was long ago out of his mind, though he had done them, and so forgotten.

The King answered, and bade him choose a counsellor whom he would have in England, and he should have him, and also a time to be advised. "If you will so do," said the Earl, "I shall make answer to-morrow, but I doubt I should not have that good fellow that I would choose." Said the King, "By my truth thou shalt." "Give me your hand," said the Earl. "Here is my hand," said the King.

The truth was, this Earl was but half an innocent man without great knowledge or learning, but rudely brought up according the usage of his country, and was a man of no great wit, which the King well perceived, and did but jest

at his demeanour and doings at court ; for oft in his talk he thou'd the King and the rest of his council, which they took in good part.

"Well," said the King, "when will you choose your counsellor?" Said the Bishop, "Never, if it be put to his choice." "Thou liest brallaghe, bald Bishop," said the Earl; . . . With that the King and the lords laughed, and made game thereat, and asked the Earl if he said true. "By your hand," said he to the King, and took the King by the hand, "there is not in London a better mutton master or butcher than yonder shorn priest is. I know him well enough," said the Earl. "Well," said the King, "we shall talk of these matters another time." "I am content," said the Earl, "for I have 3 tales to tell thee of him, and I dare say it will make you all laugh that is here. If you tarry a while I shall tell you a good tale of this vicious prelate." The King and the Lords could not hold the laughter, but the Earl never changed countenance, but told this tale as though he were among his fellows in his country.

"Well," said the King, "it is best for you to choose well your counsellor, and be well advised whom you will choose, for I perceive that your counsellor, shall have enough to do in your cause, for anything that I perceive you can do." "Shall I choose now?" said the Earl. "If you think good," said the King. "Well, I can see no better man than you, and by Saint Bride ! I will choose none other." "Well," said the King ; "by Saint Bride ! it was well requisite for you to choose so, for I thought your tale could not well excuse your doings unless you had well chosen." "Do you think that I am a fool?" said the Earl ; "No !" said he, "I am a man in deed both in the field and in the town."

The King laughed, and made sport, and said, "A wiser man might have chosen worse." "Well," said the Bishop, "he is as you see, for all Ireland cannot rule yonder gentleman." "No?" said the King, "then he is meet to rule all

Richard III, the Earl of Kildare, head of the Fitz-Geralds, filled this office. Like the Irish generally, he gave his support to the Yorkist side, and espoused the cause of the pretender Simnel. In 1492, after repeated refusals to obey the king's summons, he was seized and brought to England to answer to the charges of disloyalty and lawlessness. His principal accuser was the Bishop of Meath, whom he had attacked violently in a church.

This is not quite accurate. Kildare was confined in the Tower, while Henry strove to govern Ireland directly through his own English agents. Finally, in 1496, the king became convinced that Kildare

alone could keep order among his kinsmen, the powerful and lawless Geraldines. Accordingly, the Earl was taken from the Tower and made Lord Deputy, which office he held into the next reign.

Ireland, seeing all Ireland cannot rule him ;” and so made the Earl Deputy of Ireland during his life, and so sent him to his country with great gifts, and so the Earl came to Ireland. . . .

Book of Howth (Calendar of the Carew Mss., 1515-1574, 179, 180, London, 1871).

62. Sheep Walks in the Reign of Henry VIII

By SIR THOMAS MORE (1478-1535), statesman and scholar, and perhaps the best-known and best-loved man of his time. See Nos. 45 and 47. The following extract is from the *Utopia*, the most famous of More's writings, and the work in which he treated of the great problems of the modern world. For the conception of the book More was probably indebted to the *Letters of Amerigo Vespucci*. It consists of two parts.

“ But yet this is not onlye the necessary cause of stealing. There is an other which as I suppose is proper and peculiere to yow Englishe men alone.” “ What is that ? ” quod the Cardenall. “ Forsoth ” (quod I), “ your shepe, that were wont to be so myke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saie, be become so greate deuowerers, and so wylde, that they eate vp and swallow down the very men them selves. They consume, destroy, and deuoure hole fieldes, howses, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynyst, and therfore dearist woll, there noble men and gentlemen, yea, and certeyn Abbottes, holy men god wote, not contenting them selves with the yearely reuennues and profyttes that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beynge content that they liue in rest and pleasure, nothyng profytting, ye, muche noyinge the weale publique, leaue no grounde for tyllage ; they enclose all in pastures ; they throw downe houses ; they plucke downe townes ; and leaue nothing stondynge but only the churche, to make of it a shepehowse. And, as thoughe yow loste no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, and parkes ; those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and glebe lande into desolation and wildernes.

“Therefore, that one couetous and vnsatiabie cormaraunte and verye plage of his natyue contrey may compasse abowte and inclose many thousand acres of grounde to gether within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne; or els other by coueyne or fraude, or by vyolent oppression, they be put besydes it, or by wronges and iniuries they be so weried that they be compelled to sell all. By one meanes therfore or by other, other by howke or crooke, they must nedes departe awaye, pore, sylie, wretched soules; men, women, husbandes, wyues, fatherles chyl dren, wid dowses, wofull mothers with their yonge babes, and their hole housholde smal in substaunce, and much in nombre, as husbandrie requireth many handes. Awaye they trudge, I say, out of their knowen and accustomed howses, fyndyng no places to rest in. All their housholde stuffe, which is verye lytle worth, though it myght well abyde the sale, yet beyng sodeynelye thrust out, they be constrayned to sell it for a thyng of nought. And when they haue, wanderynge about, sone spent that, what can they els do but steale, and then iustelye, God wote, behanged, or els go about a beggyng? And yet then also they be cast in prison as vagaboundes, because they go about and worke not; whom no man will set a worke, though they neuer so willingly offer them selves therto. For one shepherde or heard man is ynough to eate vp that grounde with cattel, to the occupying whereof about husbandrye many handes were requysyte.

“And this is also the cause that victualles be nowe in many places dearer. Yea, besydes this the pryce of wolle is so rysen that poore folkes, whiche were wont to worke it and make cloth of it, be nowe able to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be fayne to forsake worke, and to gyue them selves to ydelnes. For after that so muche grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe died of the rotte, suche vengauce God toke of their inordinate and vnsaciabie couetuousnes, sendyng amonge

Part I gives a historical review of existing conditions, while in Part II More spoke to the remote future in a sketch of an ideal community established in *Utopia* or *Nowhere*. More wrote his great work in Latin, publishing it in 1516. In 1551 an English translation by Ralph Robynson was issued.

the shepe that pestiferous morreyn, which much more iustely should haue fallen on the shepe-masters owne heades. And though the numbere of shepe increase neuer so fast, yet the pryce falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. For they be almoste all commen into a fewe riche mens handes, whome no neade driueth to sell before they lust; and they luste not before they may sell as deare as they lust. Now the same cause bryngeth in licke dearth of the other kindes of cattell; yea, and that so much the more, bycause that after farmes pluckyd downe, and husbandry decayed, ther is no man that passyth for the breadying of yonge stoore. For thees ryche men brynge not vp the yonge ones of greate cattell as they do lambes. But first they bye them abrode very chepe, and afterwarde, when they be fattede in their pastures, they sell them agayne excedyng deare. And therfor (as I suppose) the hole in-commoditie herof is not yet felte. For yet they make dearth only in those places where they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thens wheare they be bredde, faster then they can be brought vp, then shall there also be felte great dearth, when stoore begynnyth to fayle their whear the ware ys bought."

Sir Thomas More, *Utopia* (Robynson's translation, edited by J. H. Lupton, Oxford, 1895), Part I, 51-56.

The sixteenth century was marked by great and widespread suffering among the people. Contemporary writings of every sort

63. A Law against the Keeping of Sheep (1534)

Forasmuch as divers and sundry persons of the King's subjects of this realm, to whom God of his goodness hath disposed great plenty and abundance of moveable substance, now of late within a few years have daily studied,

The Keeping of Sheep 191

practised, and invented ways and means how they might accumulate and gather together into few hands, as well great multitude of farms as great plenty of cattle, and in especial sheep, putting such lands as they can get to pasture, and not to tillage, (2) whereby they have not only pulled down churches and towns, and enhanced the old rates of the rents of the possessions of this realm, or else brought it to such excessive fines that no poor man is able to meddle with it, but also have raised and enhanced the prices of all manner of corn, cattle, wool, pigs, geese, hens, chickens, eggs, and such other, almost double above the prices which have been accustomed; (3) by reason whereof a marvellous multitude and number of the people of this realm be not able to provide meat, drink and clothes necessary for themselves, their wives and children, but be so discouraged with misery and poverty, that they fall daily to theft, robbery and other inconveniences, or pitifully die for hunger and cold; (4) and as it is thought by the King's most humble and loving subjects, that one of the greatest occasions that moveth and provoketh those greedy and covetous people so to accumulate and keep in their hands such great portions and parts of the grounds and lands of this realm from the occupying of the poor husbandmen, and so to use it in pasture, and not tillage, is only the great profit that cometh of sheep, which now be come to a few persons hands of this realm, in respect of the whole number of the King's subjects, that some have four and twenty thousand, some twenty thousand, some ten thousand, some six thousand, some five thousand, and some more, and some less; (5) by the which a good sheep for victual, that was accustomed to be sold for two shillings four-pence, or three shillings at the most, is now sold for six shillings, or five shillings, or four shillings at the least; (6) and a stone of clothing wool, that in some shires of this realm was accustomed to be sold for eighteen-pence or twenty-pence, is

bear strong testimony to this. Parliamentary statutes, sermons, popular ballads, all tell the same story. Tudor England was still an agricultural country, and the bulk of the population was directly dependent upon the soil for support. But the money-getting spirit was strong, and landlords saw their profit in wool growing, and as a result commons were enclosed, and land was turned from tillage to pasturage. Numerous statutes testify to the interest of the government, but laws had apparently little effect. Parliament was still legislating on the subject at the close of the century, and a contemporary epigram speaks of the way in which sheep "swal-

low down
our statutes
and our iron
laws." —
On social
conditions,
see E. P.
Cheyney,
*Social
Changes in
the Sixteenth
Century.*

now sold for four shillings, or three shillings four-pence at the least; and in some countries where it hath been sold for two shillings four-pence, or two shillings eight-pence, or three shillings at the most, it is now sold for five shillings, or four shillings eight-pence the least, and so are raised in every part of this realm; (7) which things, thus used, be principally to the high displeasure of Almighty God, to the decay of the hospitality of this realm, to the diminishing of the King's people, and to the let of the cloth-making, whereby many poor people have been accustomed to be set on work; and in conclusion, if remedy be not found, it may turn to the utter destruction and desolation of this realm, which God defend; (8) it may therefore please the King's highness, of his most gracious and godly disposition, and the lords spiritual and temporal, of their goodness and charity, with the assent of the commons, in this present parliament assembled, to ordain and enact by the authority of the same, That no person or persons from the feast of Saint *Michael* the archangel, which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1535, shall keep, occupy or have in his possession, in his own proper lands, nor in the possession, lands nor grounds of any other which he shall have or occupy in farm, nor otherwise have of his own proper cattle, in use, possession or property, by any manner of means, fraud, craft or covin, above the number of two thousand sheep at one time, within any part of this realm, of all sorts and kinds, (9) upon pain to lose and forfeit for every sheep that any person or persons shall have or keep above the number limited by this act, iii. s. iv. d. the one half to the King our sovereign lord, and the other half to such person as will sue for the same. . . .

25 H. VIII, c. 13. *Statutes at Large* (Cambridge, 1763), IV, 273, 274.

64. A Prayer for Landlords

The earth is thine, (O Lord), and all that is contained therein; notwithstanding thou hast given the possession thereof unto the children of men, to pass over the time of their short pilgrimage in this vale of misery: We heartily pray thee, to send thy holy Spirit into the hearts of them that possess the grounds, pastures, and dwelling places of the earth, that they, remembering themselves to be thy tenants, may not rack and stretch out the rents of their houses and lands, nor yet take unreasonable fines and incomes after the manner of covetous worldlings, but so let them out to other, that the inhabitants thereof may both be able to pay the rents, and also honestly to live, to nourish their families, and to relieve the poor: give them grace also to consider, that they are but strangers and pilgrims in this world, having here no dwelling place, but seeking one to come; that they, remembering the short continuance of their life, may be content with that that is sufficient, and not join house to house, nor couple land to land, to the impoverishment of other, but so behave themselves in letting out their tenements, lands, and pastures, that after this life they may be received into everlasting dwelling places: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Primer; or Book of Private Prayer, authorised by King Edward VI. (The Parker Society, 1844, 458.)

About the middle of the sixteenth century social misery reached its height. Popular indignation was directed against the landlords whose greed was thought to be the cause of all the evil. Hugh Latimer, in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross in the presence of Edward VI, called them "rentreisers," "step-lordes." The government passed statutes ordering that enclosures should be pulled down. But preaching and legislation were alike fruitless.

65. Two Sixteenth Century School Boys

This Sir Peter Carrewe was the younger son to Sir William Carrewe, knight, the son and heir to Sir Edmond Carrew, knight, and the last named baron of Carrewe, who was slain at the siege of Tyrwen with the shot of a gun in the fifth year of King Henry the VIIIth, 1513; and was

By JOHN VOWELL, alias HOOKER (1526?-1601), a writer of some note in the sixteenth century. His most impor-

tant work was done in connection with Holinshed's *Chronicles*. For a time he acted as solicitor to Sir Peter Carew, whose life he wrote.

The Renaissance bore fruit in a marked interest in education. Colet and Erasmus led in a movement for a wider range of studies and better methods. Wolsey, in founding Cardinal College, now Christ Church, Oxford, set an example which was widely followed, and by the middle of the century six colleges and some eighty grammar schools had been established. The attainments of all the Tudors were remarkable, and the court gave the nation a high standard of scholarship.

born at Mohonesotrey in the year of our Lord 1514: This Peter in his primer years being very pert and forward, his father conceived a great hope of some good thing to come of him, and having then other sons, he thought best to employ this his youngest son in the schools, and so by means of learning to bring him to some advancement: wherefore he brought him, being about the age of twelve years, to Exeter to school, and lodged him with one Thomas Hunt, a draper and an alderman of that city, and did put him to school to one Freers, then master of the grammar school there: and whether it were that he was in fear of the said Freer, for he was counted to be a very hard and a cruel master, or whether it were for that he had no affection to his learning, true it is, he would never keep his school, but was a daily truant and always ranging, whereof the schoolmaster misliking, did oftentimes complain unto the foresaid Thomas Hunt his host, upon which complaints so made the said Thomas would go and send abroad to seek out the said Peter: and among many times thus seeking him it happened that he found him about the walls of the said city, and he running to take him, the boy climbed up upon the top of one of the highest garrets of a turret of the said wall, and would not for any request come down, saying moreover to his host that if he did press too fast upon him, he would surely cast himself down headlong over the wall: and then saith he, "I shall break my neck, and thou shalt be hanged, because thou makest me to leap down." His host being afraid of the boy, departed and left some to watch him, and so to take him as soon as he came down: but forthwith he sent to Sir William Carrewe, and did advertise him of this and of sundry other shrewd parts of his son Peter: who, at his next coming then to Exeter, calling his son before him, tied him in a "lyem," and delivered him to one of his servants, to be carried about the town as one of his hounds, and led him home to Mohonesotrey like a

dog: and after that he being come to Mohonesotreye, he coupled him to one of his hounds, and so continued him for a time. At length Sir William, minding to make some further proof of his son carried him to London, and there did put him to school unto the schoolmaster of Paul's, who being earnestly requested to have some care of this young gentleman, he did his good endeavour therein. Nevertheless he, being more desirous of liberty than of learning, was desirous of the one and careless of the other: and do the schoolmaster what he could, he in no wise could frame this young Peter to smell to a book, or to like of any schooling. . . .

John Vowell, alias Hooker, *Life of Sir Peter Carew (Calendar of the Carew Mss, 1515-1574, lxvii, lxviii, London, 1867).*

After that it pleased your Maistershipp to give me in charge not onlie to give diligent attendaunce uppon Maister Gregory, but also to instructe hime with good lettres, honeste maners, pastymes of instrumentes, and suche other qualities as sholde be for hime mete and conveniente, pleasith it you to understande that for the accomplishment therof I have indevoured myself by all weys possible to invent and excogitate howe I might moste profett hime, in whiche bihalf thorowgh his diligence the successe is suche as I truste shalbe to your good contentation and pleasure, and his no smale profecte. But forcause somer was spent in the servyce of the wylde goddes it is so moche to be regarded after what fashion yeouth is educate and browght upp, in which tyme that that is lerned (for the moste parte) will nott all holelie be forgotten in the older yeres, I thinke it my dutie to asserteyne yo^r Maistershippe how he spendith his tyme, so that if there be any thinge contrary your good pleasure, after advertisment receyved in that bihalf it may be amended. And firste, after he hath herde Masse he taketh a lecture of a Diologe of Erasmus Colloquium, called Pietas

The youth of the upper and middle classes crowded the universities and schools, where they were subjected to exacting requirements and severe discipline.

In spite of his father's efforts young Carew remained indifferent to learning. He was finally sent to Paris to make his fortune.

After many hardships he returned to England and succeeded in gaining the favour of Henry VIII. He was present at the battle of Pavia, was one of those appointed to escort Anne of Cleves to England, and he did good service in the navy. He died, finally, in 1575, in Ireland.

The letter of the preceptor of Cromwell's

son was written about 1533. In 1539 Gregory Cromwell was made Baron Cromwell. He died in 1557.

puerilis, whereinne is described a veray picture of oone that sholde be vertuouselie brought upp, and forcause it is so necessary for hime I do not onelie cause him to rede it over, but also to practise the preceptes of the same, and I have also translated it into Englishe, so that he may conferre theime both to githers, wherof (as lerned men affirme) cometh no smalle profecte ; whiche translation pleasith it you to receyve by the bringer herof, that ye may judge howe moche profitable it is to be lerned : after that, he exerciseth his hande in writing one or two houres, and redith uppon Fabian's Chronicle as longe ; the residue of the day he doth spende uppon the lute and virginalls. When he rideth (as he doth very ofte) I tell hime by the way some historie of the Romanes or the Greekes, whiche I cause him to rehearse agayn in a tale. For his recreation he useth to hawke and hunte, and shote in his long bowe, which frameth and succeedeth so well with hime that he semeth to be therunto given by nature. My Lorde contineweth, or rather daily augmenteth his goodnes towards hime. Also the gentle men of the country, as Sir John Dawne, Sir Henry Delves, M^r. Massey, M^r. Brereton baron of the Kinges Escheker there, and diverse other so gently hath interteigned hime that they seme to strive who shold shew hime moste pleasures ; of all whiche thinges I thought it my dutie to assertheigne your good Maistershipp, most humblie desirenge the same to take in good parte this my rude boldnes. And thus I pray the Trinitie longe to preserve yo^r good health with encrease of moche hono^r. At Chester the vjth daie of Septembre.

Your humble servaunte,
HENRY DOWES.

To his moste worshipfull Maister
MR. SECRETAIRE.

Henry Dowes. *Letter to Thomas Cromwell (Original Letters, edited by Sir Henry Ellis. Third Series, Vol. I, 343-345, London, 1846).*

66. England in the Reign of Queen Mary

By GIACOMO
SORANZO.
See No. 50.

The air of England is thick, so it often generates clouds, wind, and rain, but in calm weather the climate is so temperate that the extremes of heat and cold are rarely felt, and never last long, so that persons clad in fur may be seen all the year round. They have some little plague in England well nigh every year, for which they are not accustomed to make sanitary provisions, as it does not usually make great progress; the cases for the most part occur among the lower classes, as if their dissolute mode of life impaired their constitutions; . . .

The soil, especially in England proper, produces wheat, oats, and barley, in such plenty that they have usually enough for their own consumption, but were they to work more diligently, and with greater skill, and bring the soil into higher cultivation, England might supply grain for exportation, but they do not attend much to this, so that they sometimes need assistance both from Flanders and Denmark, and occasionally from France likewise. They grow no other sort of grain, and their only lentils are beans and peas. Although they have vines they do not make wine of any sort, the plant serving as an ornament for their gardens rather than anything else, as grapes do not ripen save in a very small quantity, partly because the sun has not much power, and partly because precisely at the ripening season cold winds generally prevail, so that the grapes wither, but in lieu of wine they make beer, with wheat, barley, and hops, which [last?] they import from Flanders, boiling all the ingredients together in water, and making it stronger or weaker by adding more wheat and less barley, and producing a contrary result by reversing the process. This potion is most palatable to them, and all persons drink it, even their sovereigns, although they also consume

Probably there were not a half dozen years during the reign of Henry VIII that the plague did not visit London. "On an average once in a generation, and during a period of three centuries—from the Black Death to the extinction of the plague in 1666—the capital lost from a fourth to a sixth of its population at one stroke in a single season." Creighton.

During the sixteenth century agriculture retrograded as an art. This was due largely to the dissolution of the religious houses, for the monks

were pioneers in agricultural advance. Toward the end of the century there was marked improvement in methods of farming, the result of the high price of provisions.

An old distich says of 1525, "Turkies, hoppers reformation and beer Came into England all in one year."

a great quantity of wine. . . . They have abundance of fish, both from the ocean and the Thames, of the same sort as is common in Venice, but they have also salmon, a fish not found in Italy. They have an immense quantity of oysters, so that occasionally as many as 20 smacks are seen filled with them, but during four months in the summer it is forbidden either to take or sell them.

The country is almost all level, with few rivers and springs, and such hills as they have are not very high, and one advantage of the climate is that the grass remains green at all seasons, affording excellent pasturage for animals, especially for sheep, of which there is an incredible number, supplying that wool which is in such universal repute under the name of "Frankish," the French having been the first to bring it into Italy. Great part of this wool is manufactured in England, where cloths and kerseys of various sorts are wrought, which amount annually to 150,000 pieces of cloths of all sorts, and 150,000 pieces of kersey, the rest of the wool being exported, and taken usually to Calais on account of the staplers, who then sell it on the spot, and have the monopoly of the wool exports from England, though occasionally export-permits are conceded by favour to other persons, though the staplers do their utmost to prevent it. The quantity of unwrought wool exported is said to amount to about 2000 tons [annually]; they also export hides to the value of 500,000 ducats. In Cornwall they have lead and tin mines, from which they extract metal in great quantity, and of such good quality that the like is not to be found elsewhere. For some time they have not exported much lead because permits are refused, but they export annually from five to six thousand weight of unwrought tin, and to the value of 100,000 ducats in the wrought metal, the greater part to Spain.

In Derbyshire there are some iron mines, but in small quantity, but none of gold nor of silver.

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In the north towards Scotland they find a certain sort of earth well nigh mineral, and which burns like charcoal, and is extensively used, especially by blacksmiths, and but for a certain bad odour which it leaves it would be yet more employed, as it gives great heat and costs little.

The principal cities of the kingdom are London and York, but London is the most noble, both on account of its being the royal residence, and because the river Thames runs through it, very much to the convenience and profit of the inhabitants, as it ebbs and flows every six hours like the sea, scarcely ever causing inundation or any extraordinary floods ; and up to London Bridge it is navigable for ships of 400 butts burden, of which a great plenty arrive with every sort of merchandise. This bridge connects the city with the borough, and is built of stone with twenty arches, and shops on both sides. On the banks of the river there are many large palaces, making a very fine show, but the city is much disfigured by the ruins of a multitude of churches and monasteries belonging heretofore to friars and nuns. It has a dense population, said to number 180,000 souls ; and is beyond measure commercial, the merchants of the entire kingdom flocking thither, as, by a privilege conceded to the citizens of London, from them alone can they purchase merchandise, so they soon become very wealthy ; and the same privileges placed in their hands the government of the city of London, which is divided into 24 trades or crafts, each of which elects a certain individual, styled alderman, the election being made solely in the persons of those who are considered the most wealthy, and the office is for life ; the which aldermen, after assembling these trades, create annually a person as their head for the current year entitled Mayor, and they call him Lord, which signifies *signor* ; and he assumes the magistracy on the day of Saints Simon and Jude, on which day he goes to the court and swears allegiance to the King, and then gives a banquet to the ambas-

See John
Stow, *Survey
of London.*

sadors and lords, and to the judges of the city and others, in such number, that in one and the same hall upwards of a thousand persons sit down to table, all being served at the same time with the most perfect order. . . .

Id. grey.

The English for the most part are of handsome stature and sound constitution, with red or white complexions, their eyes also being white. According to their station they are all as well clad as any other nation whatever. The dress of the men resembles the Italian fashion, and that of the women the French.

The nobility are by nature very courteous, especially to foreigners, who however are treated with very great arrogance and enmity by the people, it seeming to them that the profit derived by the merchants from their country is so much taken from them, and they imagine that they could live without foreign intercourse. They are also by nature of little faith both towards their sovereigns and with each other, and are therefore very suspicious. The nobility, save such as are employed at Court, do not habitually reside in the cities, but in their own country mansions, where they keep up very grand establishments, both with regard to the great abundance of eatables consumed by them, as also by reason of their numerous attendants, in which they exceed all other nations, so that the Earl of Pembroke has upwards of 1000 clad in his own livery. In these their country residences they occupy themselves with hunting of every description, and whatever else can amuse or divert them; so that they seem wholly intent on leading a joyous existence, the women also being no less sociable than the men, it being customary for them and allowable to go without any regard either alone or accompanied by their husbands to the taverns, and to dine and sup where they please.

The English do not delight much either in military pursuits or literature, which last, most especially by the nobility, is not held in much account, and they have scarcely any

opportunity for occupying themselves with the former, save in time of war, and when that is ended they think no more about them, but in battle they show great courage and great presence of mind in danger, but they require to be largely supplied with victuals; so it is evident that they cannot endure much fatigue. . . .

Report of England made to the Senate by Giacomo Soranzo, late Ambassador to Edward VI and Queen Mary (Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1534-1554, No. 934, London, 1873).

67. Elizabethan Homes

The greatest part of our building in the cities and good townes of England consisteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houses of the communitie (except here & there in the West cuntry townes) are made of stone, although they may (in my opinion) in diuerse other places be builded so good cheape of the one as of the other. In old time the houses of the Britons were slightlie set vp with a few posts & many radels, with stable and all offices vnder one roofe, the like whereof almost is to be seene in the fennie countries and northerne parts vnto this daie, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this ancient manner of building. . . . Certes this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in queene Maries daies to woonder, but cheeflie when they saw what large diet was vsed in manie of these so homelie cottages, in so much that one of no small reputation amongst them said after this maner: "These English (quoth he) haue their houses made of sticks and durt, but they fare commonlie so well as the king. Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in such course cabins, than of their owne thin diet in their princelike habitations and palaces. In like sort as euerie cuntry

By WILLIAM HARRISON († 1593), a native of London, where he studied at St. Paul's School, and at Westminster. Later he attended Oxford and Cambridge. In 1586 he became Canon of Windsor. He lived the life of a quiet country clergyman, occupying his leisure with literary work. His most important productions are the *Description of Britain* and the *Description of England*, written for Holinshed's *Chronicle*.

house is thus apparelled on the out side, so is it inwardlie diuided into sundrie roomes aboue and beneath ; and where plentie of wood is, they couer them with tiles, otherwise with straw, sedge, or reed, except some quarrie of slate be neere hand, from whence they haue for their monie so much as may suffice them. . . .

. . . The wals of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapisterie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherein either diuerse histories, or hearbes, beasts, knots, and such like are stained, or else they are seeled with oke of our owne, or wainescot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the roomes are not a little commended, made warme, and much more close than otherwise they would be. As for stooues we haue not hitherto vsed them greatlie, yet doo they now begin to be made in diuerse houses of the gentrie and wealthie citizens, who build them not to worke and feed in as in Germanie and else where, but now and then to sweat in, as occasion and need shall require. This also hath beene common in England, contrarie to the customes of all other nations, and yet to be seene (for example in most streets of London) that many of our greatest houses haue outwardlie beene verie simple and plaine to sight, which inwardlie haue beene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their ease. Hereby moreouer it is come to passe, that the fronts of our streets haue not beene so vniforme and orderlie builded as those of forreine cities, where (to saie truth) the vtterside of their mansions and dwellings haue oft more cost bestowed vpon them, than all the rest of the house, which are often verie simple and vneasie within, as experience dooth confirme. Of old time our countrie houses in steed of glasse did vse much lattise and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oke in chekerwise. I read also that some of the better sort, in and before the times of the Saxons (who notwithstanding vsed some glasse also since

the time of Benedict Biscop the moonke that brought the feat of glasing first into this land) did make panels of horne in steed of glasse, & fix them in wooden calmes. But as horne in windows is now quite laid downe in euerie place, so our lattises are also growne into lesse vse, bicause glasse is come to be so plentifull, and within a verie little so good cheape if not better then the other.

. . . Now to turne againe to our windowes. Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noble men were often glazed with Berill (an example whereof is yet to be seene in Sudleie castell) and in diuerse other places with fine christall, but this especiallie in the time of the Romans, whereof also some fragments haue beene taken vp in old ruines. But now these are not in vse, so that onelie the clearest glasse is most esteemed: for we haue diuerse sorts, some brought out of Burgundie, some out of Normandie, much out of Flanders, beside that which is made in England, which would be so good as the best, if we were diligent and carefull to bestow more cost vpon it, and yet as it is, each one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreouer the mansion houses of our countrie townes and villages (which in champaine ground stand altogether by streets, & ioining one to an other, but in woodland soiles dispersed here and there, each one vpon the seuerall grounds of their owners) are builded in such sort generallie, as that they haue neither dairie, stable, nor bruehouse annexed vnto them vnder the same roofe (as in manie places beyond the sea & some of the north parts of our countrie) but all separate from the first, and one of them from an other. And yet for all this, they are not so farre distant in sunder, but that the goodman lieng in his bed may lightlie heare what is doone in each of them with ease, and call quicklie vnto his meinie if anie danger should attach him.

The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of strong timber, in framing

whereof our carpenters haue beene and are worthilie preferred before those of like science among all other nations. Howbeit such as be latelie builded, are comonlie either of bricke or hard stone, or both ; their roomes large and comelie, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with bricke and hard stone, as prouision may be best made : but so magnificent and statelie, as the basest house of a baron dooth often match in our daies with some honours of princes in old time. . . .

The furniture of our houses also exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to passing delicacie : and herein I doo not speake of the nobilitie and gentrie onelie, but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our south countrie, that haue anie thing at all to take to. Certes in noble mens houses it is not rare to see abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapistrie, siluer vessell, and so much other plate, as may furnish sundrie cupbords, to the summe oftentimes of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least : whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuffe dooth grow to be almost inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not geson to behold generallie their great prouision of tapistrie, Turkie worke, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and thereto costlie cupbords of plate, worth fiae or six hundred or a thousand pounds, to be deemed by estimation. But as herein all these sorts doo far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatnesse and curiositie, the merchant all other ; so in time past, the costlie furniture staid there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, euen vnto the inferior artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old and not of their new leases haue for the most part learned also to garnish their cupbords with plate, their ioined beds with tapistrie and silke hangings, and their tables with carpets & fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our coun-

Geson, *i.e.*
unusual.

trie (God be praised therefore, and giue vs grace to imploye it well) dooth infinitelie appeare. . . . There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted three things to be maruellouslie altered in England within their sound remembrance ; & other three things too too much increased. One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, whereas in their yoong daies there were not aboue two or three, if so manie in most vplandish townes of the realme (the religious houses, & manour places of their lords alwaies excepted, and peraduenture some great personages) but ech one made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.

The second is the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for (said they) our fathers (yea and we our selues also) haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets on rough mats couered onelie with a sheet vnder couerlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I vse their owne termes) and a good round log vnder their heads in steed of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had within seuen yeares after his marriage purchased a materes or flockebed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head vpon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peraduenture laie seldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers ; so well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture : which also is not verie much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southerne parts. . . .

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of vessell, as of treene platters into pewter, and wodden spoones into siluer or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene stuffe in old time, that a man should hardlie find foure peeces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a salt) in a good farmers house, and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may so be iustly called) they were scarce able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without selling of a cow, or an horsse, or

*I.e. made of
tree or wood.*

more, although they paid but foure pounds at the vttermost by the yeare. Such also was their pouertie, that if some one od farmer or husbandman had beene at the alehouse, a thing greatlie vsed in those daies, amongst six or seuen of his neighbours, and there in a brauerie to shew what store he had, did cast downe his pursse, and therein a noble or six shillings in siluer vnto them (for few such men then cared for gold bicause it was not so readie paiment, and they were oft inforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angell) it was verie likelie that all the rest could not laie downe so much against it : whereas in my time, although peradventure foure pounds of old rent be improued to fortie, fiftie, or an hundred pounds, yet will the farmer as another palme or date tree thinke his gaines verie small toward the end of his terme, if he haue not six or seuen yeares rent lieng by him, therewith to purchase a new lease, beside a faire garnish of pewter on his cupbord, with so much more in od vessell going about the house, three or foure featherbeds, so manie couerlids and carpets of tapistrie, a siluer salt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neast) and a dozen of spoones to furnish vp the sute. . . .

The increase in silver after the Spanish conquests in Peru and Mexico is marked.

William Harrison, *The Description of England* (Holinshed's *Chronicle*, London, 1807), Bk. II, Ch. XII.

68. An Unfriendly View of the English Privateers (1603)

By GIO-
VANNI SCA-
RAMELLI,
Venetian
Ambassador
in England.
After the de-
feat of the
Spanish
Armada
English
privateering
developed

While on this topic I must not omit to say that the English through their rapacity and cruelty have become odious to all nations. With Spain they are at open war and are already plundering her and upsetting the India trade ; they are continually robbing with violence the French, whom

they encounter on the long stretches of the open sea. They cannot sail at present to Poland and Prussia, because the Danish Straits are blocked against them. In Germany, at Hamburg, Lubeck, and other ports, for example, they are detested; because the German merchants still claim their ancient privileges of their exchange house in London, of which they were deprived by the Queen a few years ago, merely with the view to foster English and restrict foreign commerce. The Venetians have suffered in the same way. With the Flemish they have little accord on account of the Spanish war, but also for natural reasons; for the Flemish trade in the Levant has grown to such proportions that the English trade is considerably diminished; and the same has taken place between the Flemish and the Venetians; for they are working away to ruin the German Exchange in Venice by opening another route for the import not only of spices but of cotton into Germany; and although the English exaggerate this topic out of rivalry with the Flemish, I nevertheless feel bound to represent these considerations to your Serenity, on account of their great importance. Then inside the Straits of Gibraltar, how can the English be endured, seeing that under the guise of merchants they plunder in the very vitals of foreign dominions all the shipping they find? On this I need not enlarge further, except to say that in despatches of December last the English Ambassador at Constantinople enclosed a decree passed by the Turks, drawn up by the Mufti on religious grounds at the instance of the French Ambassador, that English vessels shall always render an account of all goods brought and sold in Barbary and elsewhere within Turkish dominions; and the English Ambassador is charged to see the order carried out. This information is extremely disliked.

Hence both those who command, and those who execute here in England, see quite clearly how great, how universal, and how just is the hatred which all nations, nay all

rapidly. Ostensibly the vessels from England, which swarmed on every sea, were engaged in commerce, but the Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople wrote of them to the Senate:

"They have but little trade, nor can I distinguish those which come for trading only; for all of them are hampered with artillery and provisioned for a year, even to the water, and in order that they may be handy in fighting, they are kept clear, leaving not only the quarter deck but also the main deck, where goods are usually placed, free for the artillery. Theft is their proper business, and the object of their voyage."

The English Ambassador in Constantinople con-

fessed that "in truth very few ships did sail for trading," but he urged that "the kingdom of England, though a very rich feeding ground, was not able to support the whole nation, therefore they had to take to the sea, and to be fully armed, on account of the Spanish, their powerful foes; besides, these ships were the bulwarks of the country."

peoples we might say, bear to the English, for they are the disturbers of the whole world. And yet with all this they not only do not take any steps to remedy the mischief, but in a certain sense they glory that the English name should become formidable just in this way. For whereas the Kings of England, down to Henry VII, and Henry VIII, were wont to keep up a fleet of one hundred ships in full pay as a defence, now the Queen's ships do not amount to more than fifteen or sixteen, as her revenue cannot support a greater charge; and so the whole of the strength and repute of the nation rests on the vast number of small privateers, which are supported and increased to that dangerous extent which everyone recognises; and to ensure this support, the privateers make the ministers partners in the profits, without the risk of a penny in the fitting out, but only a share in the prizes, which are adjudged by judges placed there by the ministers themselves. To such a state has this unhappy Kingdom come that from a lofty religion has fallen into the abyss of infidelity.

London, 20th March 1603.

Giovanni Scaramelli, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate (Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1592-1603, No. 1160, London, 1897).

CHAPTER XI—ESTRANGEMENT OF THE KING AND THE NATION

69. James I. at the Hampton Court Conference (1604)

THEN hee [Doctor Reynolds] desireth, that according to certaine Prouincial *Constitutions*, they of the Clergy might haue meetings once euery three weeks ; first in Rurall Deaneries, and therein to haue *Prophecyng*, according as the *Reuerend Father, Archbishop Grindall*, and other Bishops desired of her late Maiestie. 2. that such thinges, as could not be resolued vpon, there, might bee referred to the *Archdeacons Visitation*: and so 3. from thence to the *Episcopall Synode*, where the Bishop with his *Presbyteri*, should determine all such pointes, as before could not be decided.

At which speech, his Maiestie was somewhat stirred ; yet, which is admirable in him, without passion or shew thereof: thinking, that they aymed at a *Scottish Presbytery*, which saith he, as wel agreeth with a Monarchy, as God, and the Deuill. Then *Jack & Tom & Will & Dick*, shall meete, and at their pleasures censure me, and my Councell, and all our proceedings: Then *Will* shall stand vp, and say it must be thus; then *Dick* shall reply, and say, nay, mary, but wee will haue it thus. And therefore, here I must once reiterate my former speech, *Le Roy s'auisera*: Stay, I pray you, for one seuen yeares, before you demaund that of mee, and if then, you finde me purseye and fat, and my windepipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you: for let that *gouernement* bee once vp, I am sure, I shall bee kept in

By WILLIAM BARLOW († 1613), Bishop of Rochester, and later of Lincoln. He was one of the eighteen representatives of the High Church party in the Hampton Court Conference.

With the exception of a few letters Barlow's account is the main authority on the proceedings of the Conference.—

On James and the religious issue, see Prothero, *Statutes and Constitutional Documents*.

Reynolds was one of the four Puritans who took part in the conference. He was one of the most learned divines of the time.

Prophecy-
ing = meet-
ings of the
clergy for
discussion
and practice
in speaking.

The regular
form of veto
was "Le Roi
s'avisera," or
"The king
will consider
it."

breath ; then shall we all of us, haue worke enough, both our hands ful. But Doctor *Reyn.* til you finde that I grow lazy, let that alone.

And here, because D. *Reyn.* had twise before obtruded the *Kinges Supremacy*. 1. In the *Article*, concerning the *Pope* ; 2. in the point of *Subscription*, his Maiestie at those times saide nothing : but now growing to an end, he sayde, I shal speak of one matter more ; yet, somewhat out of order, but it skilleth not. Doctor *Reyn.* quoth the K. you haue often spoken for my *Supremacy*, and it is well : but know you any here, or any else where, who like of the present *Gouernement Ecclesiasticall*, that finde fault, or dislike my *Supremacy* ? D. *Reyn.* saide no ; why then, saith his Maiesty, I will tell you a tale. After that the Religion restored by *King Edward the 6* was soone ouerthrowne by the succession of Queene *Mary*, here in *England*, we in *Scotland* felt the effect of it. whereupon *Mas. Knoxe* writes to the Queene *Regent* (of whome without flattery, I may say, that she was a vertuous and moderate Lady) telling her that she was *Supreme head* of the church, and charged her, as she would aunswere it before Gods Tribunall, to take care of *Christ his Euangil*, and of suppressing the Popish Prelates, who with stooode the *same*. But how long, trow yee, did this continue ? euen so long, till by her authority, the popish Bishops were repressed. hee, himselfe, and his adherentes were brought in, and well settled, and by these meanes, made strong enough to undertake the matters of *Reformation* themselues. Then, loe, they began to make smal account of her *Supremacy*, nor would longer rest vpon her authority, but tooke the cause into their owne hand, according to that more light wher with they were illuminated, made a further *reformation* of Religion. How they used that poore Lady my mother, is not unknowne, and with grieffe, I may remember it : who because, she had not been otherwise instructed, did desire, only a priuate

Chappell, wherein to serue God, after her manner, with some few selected persons; but her *Supremacy* was not sufficient to obtaine it at their handes. And how they dealt with me, in my *Minority*, you all know; it was not done secretly & thogh I would, I cannot conceale it. I will apply it thus. And then putting his hand to his hat, his Maiestie saide; my Lordes the Bishops, I may thanke you, that these men doe thus plead for my *Supremacy*; They think they cannot make their party good against you, but by appealing vnto it, as if you, or some that adhere vnto you, were not well affected towards it. But if once you were out, and they in place, I know what would become of my *Supremacy*. No *Bishop*, no *King*, as before I said. Neither doe I thus speak, at random, without groundes, for I haue obserued since my coming into *England*, that some preachers before me, can be content to pray for *Iames, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith*, but as for *Supreme Gouvernour* in all Causes, and ouer all persons, (aswell Ecclesiasticall as Ciuill) they passe that ouer with silence; & what cut they haue beene of, I after learned. After this asking them, if they had any more to object; and *D. Reyn.* aunswering, No. his Maiestie appointed the next *Wednesday* for both parties to meete before him, and rising from his Chaire, as hee was going to his inner Chamber, If this bee al, quoth he, that they haue to say, I shall make them conforme themselves, or I wil harrie them out of the land, or else doe worse.

And this was the Summe of the Second dayes Conference, which rayseed such an admiration in the Lordes, in respect of the King. his singular readiness, and exact knowledge; that one of them saide, hee was fully perswaded, his Maiestie spake by the *instinct of the spirite of God*.

William Barlow, *The Summe and Substance of the Conference*,
 . . . at Hampton Court (London, 1604), 78-83.

70. Apology of the House of Commons (1604)

The document, given here in an abridged form, was drawn up by the House of Commons during the disturbed session of 1604, but apparently it was never presented to the king.

"In it they (the House of Commons) took up the position which they never quitted during eighty-four long and stormy years. To understand this Apology is to understand the causes of the success of the English Revolution. They did not ask for anything which was not in accordance with justice. They did not demand a single privilege which was not necessary for the good of the nation as well as for their own dignity."

Gardiner. —
On James I's

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, FROM THE HOUSE OF THE COMMONS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN : . . . We know, and with great thankfulness to God acknowledge, that he hath given us a king of such understanding and wisdom as is rare to find in any prince in the world. Howbeit, seeing no human wisdom, how great soever, can pierce into the particularities of the rights and customs of people or of the sayings and doings of particular persons, but by tract of experience and faithful report of such as know them, . . . what grief, what anguish of mind hath it been unto us at some time in presence to hear, and so in other things to find and feel by effect your gracious Majesty (to the extreme prejudice of all your subjects of England, and in particular of this House of the Commons thereof) so greatly wronged by misinformation, as well touching the estate of the one as the privileges of the other, and their several proceedings during this parliament. . . .

Against which assertions, most gracious Sovereign, tending directly and apparently to the utter overthrow of the very fundamental privileges of our House, and therein of the rights and liberties of the whole Commons of your realm of England, which they and their ancestors from time immemorable have undoubtedly enjoyed under your Majesty's most noble progenitors, we the knights, citizens, and burghesses of the House of Commons assembled in parliament and in the name of the whole Commons of the realm of England, with uniform consent for ourselves and our posterity, do expressly protest, as being derogatory in the highest degree to the true dignity, liberty and authority of your Majesty's high court of parliament and consequently to the

rights of all your Majesty's said subjects and the whole body of this your kingdom; and desire that this our protestation may be recorded to all posterity. And contrariwise, with all humble and due respect to your Majesty our sovereign lord and head, against these misinformations we most truly avouch, first, that our privileges and liberties are our right and due inheritance, no less than our very lands and goods. Secondly, that they cannot be withheld from us, denied or impaired, but with apparent wrong to the whole state of the realm. Thirdly, that our making of request in the entrance of parliament to enjoy our privilege is an act only of manner. . . . Fourthly, we avouch also that our House is a court of record, and so ever esteemed. Fifthly, that there is not the highest standing court in this land that ought to enter into competency either for dignity or authority with this high court of parliament, which with your Majesty's royal assent gives laws to other courts, but from other courts receives neither laws nor orders. Sixthly and lastly, we avouch that the House of Commons is the sole proper judge of return of all such writs, and of the election of all such members as belong unto it, without which the freedom of election were not entire; . . .

political views, see Prothero, *Statutes and Constitution*

From these misinformed positions, most gracious Sovereign, the greatest part of our troubles, distrusts and jealousies have risen: having apparently found, that in the first parliament of the happy reign of your Majesty the privileges of our House, and therein the liberties and stability of the whole kingdom, have been more universally and dangerously impugned than ever (as we suppose) since the beginnings of parliament. . . . First, the freedom of persons in our election hath been impeached. Secondly, the freedom of our speech prejudiced by often reproofs. Thirdly, particular persons noted with taunt and disgrace, who have spoken their consciences in matters proposed to the House, but with all due respect and reverence to your Majesty.

Reference to
the case of
Sir Thomas
heirley.

abridg^h hop
form, was
drawn up by
the House of
Commons
during the
disturbed
session
160.
p^{re}

Whereby we have been in the end subject to so extreme contempt, as a raoler durst so obstinately withstand the decrees of our House; some of the higher clergy to write a book against us, even sitting the parliament; the inferior clergy to inveigh against us in pulpits, yea to publish their protestations, tending to the impeachment of our most ancient and undoubted rights in treating of matters for the peace and good order of the Church. . . .

The rights and liberties of the Commons of England consist chiefly in these three things: first, that the shires, cities and boroughs of England, by representation to be present, have free choice of such persons as they shall put in trust to represent them: secondly, that the persons chosen, during the time of the parliament, as also of their access and recess, be free from restraint, arrest and imprisonment: thirdly, that in parliament they may speak freely their consciences without check and controlment, doing the same with due reverence to the sovereign court of parliament, that is, to your Majesty and both the Houses, who all in this case make but one politic body, whereof your Highness is the head. . . .

For matter of religion, it will appear, by examination of truth and right, that your Majesty should be misinformed, if any man should deliver that the kings of England have any absolute power in themselves, either to alter religion (which God defend should be in the power of any mortal man whatsoever) or to make any laws concerning the same, otherwise than as in temporal causes by consent of parliament. We have and shall at all times by our oaths acknowledge, that your Majesty is sovereign lord and supreme governor in both. Touching our own desires and proceedings therein, they have not been a little misconceived and misreported. We have not come in any Puritan or Brownish spirit to introduce their parity, or to work the subversion of the state ecclesiastical, as now it standeth. . . . We dis-

puted not of matters of faith and doctrine ; our desire was peace only ; and our device of unity, how this lamentable and long-lasting dissension amongst the ministers, from which both atheism, sects and all ill life have received such encouragement and so dangerous increase, might at length, before help come too late, be extinguished. And for the ways of this peace, we are not at all addicted to our own inventions, but ready to embrace any fit way that may be offered ; neither desire we so much that any man in regard of weakness of conscience may be exempted after parliament from obedience unto laws established, as that in this parliament such laws may be enacted, as by the relinquishment of some few ceremonies of small importance, or by any way better, a perpetual uniformity may be enjoyed and observed. Our desire hath also been to reform certain abuses crept into the ecclesiastical state, even as into the temporal : and lastly, that the land might be furnished with a learned, religious, and godly ministry, for the maintenance of whom we would have granted no small contributions, if in these (as we trust) just and religious desires we had found that correspondency from others which was expected. . . .

There remaineth, dread Sovereign, yet one part of our duty at this present, which faithfulness of heart, not presumption, doth press : we stand not in place to speak or do things pleasing. Our care is, and must be, to confirm the love and tie the hearts of your subjects, the commons, most firmly to your Majesty. Herein lieth the means of our well deserving of both : there was never prince entered with greater love, with greater joy and applause of all his people. This love, this joy, let it flourish in their hearts for ever. Let no suspicion have access to their fearful thoughts, that their privileges, which they think by your Majesty should be protected, should now by sinister informations or counsel be violated or impaired ; or that those, which with dutiful respects to your Majesty, speak freely for the right and

good of their country, shall be oppressed or disgraced. Let your Majesty be pleased to receive public information from your Commons in parliament as to the civil estate and government ; for private informations pass often by practice : the voice of the people, in the things of their knowledge, is said to be as the voice of God. . . .

Cobbett, *Parliamentary History* (London, 1806), I, 1030-1042.

By the
TREASURER
AND COUN-
CIL OF THE
LONDON
COMPANY.

On the settle-
ment of Vir-
ginia, see
Hart, *Ameri-
can History
told by Con-
temporaries*.

In March,
1622, the
Indians at-
tacked the
Virginia
settlements,
killing many
colonists,
and destroy-
ing much
property.

An Indian
chief who
was killed by
the English a
short time
before the
massacre in
retaliation
for the mur-
der of some
of the colo-
nists.

71. The London Company to the Virginia Colony (1622)

"To our very loving frends Sr. Francis Wyatt Knight, Governor & Captaine generall of Virginia, and to the rest of the Counsell of State there :

"After our very hartie comendations ; Wee haue, to o^r extreame grief, understood of the great Massacre executed on o^r people in Virginia, and that in such a maner as is more miserable than the death itself. To fall by the hande of men so contemptible ; to be surprised by treacherie in a time of known danger ; to be deafe to so plaine a warning, as we now to late undrstand was last yeare given ; to be secure on an occaon of so great suspition and ielousie as was Nenemathanewe's death ; not to pceive any thing in so opne and generall conspiracie ; but to be made in parte instruments of contriving it, and almost guiltie of the destrucon by a blindfold and stupid entertaininge of it, wch the least wisdome or courage sufficed to preuent euen on the point of execution, are circumstances that do add much to o^r sorrow, and make us to confesse that it is the heaue hand of All-mightie God for the punishment of o^r and yo^r transgressions ; to the humble acknowledgment and pfect amendment

whereof, together with orselues, we seriously aduise and inuite you, and in particular earnestly require the speedie redress of those two enormous excesses of apparell and drinkeing, the crie whereof cannot but haue gon up to Heaven, since the infamie hath spredd itself to all that have but heard the name of Virginia, to the detestation of all good minds, the scorne of others, and o^r extreame grieffe and shame. In the strength of those faults undoubtedly, and the neglect of the Devine worshipp, have the Indians prevailed, more than in yo^r weaknes. Whence the euil therefore spring, the remedy must first begin, and an humble reconciliation be made with the Devine Ma^{tie}, by future conformitie unto His most iust and holie lawes, which doinge we doubt not but that you shall be safe from the hands of all yo^r enemies, and them that hate you, from whom, if God's protection be not with you, no strength of situation can saue you, and wth it, we conceiue not, but where you be, you may make yourselues as secure as in any other place whatsoeuer, and in all other respects the chaung cannot but be to the worst, may to the utter ouerthrow not only of all o^r labo^r and changes the expectation of his Ma^{tie} and the whole State; wherefore you shall do well so wholie to abandon the thought thereof as in this point not to return us any answer; Spartam quam nactus es hanc exorna; than to applie all yo^r thoughts and endeuo^r and in especiall to the setting upp of Staple comodities, according to those often instruc^ons and reiterated aduises that wee haue continually giuen you, the want whereof hath been the truest obiection against y^e succeedinge of this Plantation and the greatest hindrance and impediment (as we conceiue) that his Ma^{tie} and the State haue not set to a more liberall hand to the furtherance thereof, but now at last it hath pleased God for the confirmation no doubt of o^r hopes and redoubling of o^r and y^{o^r} coradges, to encline his Ma^{ties} Royall heart to graunt the Sole importation of Tobacco (a thing long

"So much absorbed had the planters become in the cultivation of tobacco that they presented the Indians with their fire-arms, and employed them in hunting as substitutes,"
Bruce.

The company had often urged the planting of wheat, barley, and flax.

Up to this time James I had shown little favour to the tobacco industry.

I.e. Bermudas.

and earnestly desired) to the Virginia and Sumer Ilands Companies and that upon such condiçons as the priuate profit of each man is likely be much improued and the generall state of the Plantation strongly secured, while his Ma^{ty} reuenuē is so closely ioyned as together with the Collonie it must rise and faile, grow and empaire, and that not a small matter neither, but of twenty thousand pounds p. ann. (for the offer of so much in certainty hath his Ma^{ty} been pleased to refuse in fauor of the Plantations).

“The good effects likely hence to ensue are to obuious for us to sette downe and phapps greater than we can imagine ; they only in generall we may assure o^r selues and yo^rs, that there shal be no iust fauo^r tending to the aduancement of the Plantacon that we may not hope from his Ma^{ty} who uppon o^r humble peticon and the mediation of the Lords of his most Hono^{ble} Priuie Counsell hath out of his Royall bountie been pleased to bestow uppon us diu^m armes (although in these parts unseruiseable yett such as against the Indian may be uery usefull : w^{ch} we doubt not but by the Abigaile to send you ; and are further put in an assured hope to obtaine the number of 400 young men well furnished out of England and Wales at 20^{ld} a person to repaire wth aduantage the number that is lost, to sett upp the publique reuēues of the Companie, and sattisfie the deserts of worthie persons in the Colony ; this suplie we hope to procure, so as they may be wth you before the Spring.

“The fear of yo^r want of Corne doth much perplex us, seeing so little possibility to supply you, the publique stock being utterly as yo^r know exhausted and the last yeares aduentures made by priuate men not returned as was promised, we haue no hope of raising any valuable Magazine but rather feare to see the effect of what we forwarned by the Warwick.

“Other waies and meanes are so uncertaine as wee cannot wish you to rely uppon any thing but yo^r selues, yet shall

The Governor and Council urged the company to allow no one to leave England to come to the colony without a supply of grain for a twelvemonth.

there not be left any meanes unatempted on o^r parts in this kind and for other necessities to supplie you hoping that the danger of this extremitie will hence forward pswade you not to comitt the certainty of yo^r liues to the uncertainty of one haruest ; and that at last you will und^rstand it is as fitt and necessarie to yeld the return of Aduentures yearely as to receiue them ; . . .

Yo^r very Louing frends

August the first
1622

The Treasurer & Counsell of Virginia.

Edward Neill, *History of the Virginia Company of London*
(Albany, N.Y., 1869), 322-325.

72. A Famous Scene in the House of Commons (1629)

“Upon Monday the second of March, as soone as praiers were ended, the Speaker went into the chaire, and delivered the Kinges command for the adiornement of the Howse untill Tewsday sevenight following, being the tenth of March.

“The Howse made him answere, that it was not the office of a Speaker to deliver any such command unto them, but for the adiornement of the Howse it did properly belong unto themselves, and, after they had uttered some thinges they thought fitt to be spoken of, they would sattisfie the King.

“The Speaker tould them, he had an expresse command from his Maiestie that as soone as he had delivered his message he should rise, and upon that left the chaire, but was by force drawne to it againe by Mr. Densill Holles, sonn to the Earle of Clare, Mr. Valentine, and others : and

ANONY-
MOUS.
Sir Simon
D'Ewes (see
No. 54) calls
the second
of March,
1629, “the
most gloomy,
sad, and
dismal day
for England
that had hap-
pened for
500 years.”
On that day
there was
manifested a
disagreement
between
Crown and
Commons
unknown in
all previous
parliamen-
tary history.
Our know-
ledge of that
famous oc-
casion is
derived from

various sources, no one of which is quite complete. — See *Parliamentary History*; Gardiner, *History of England, 1603–1642*.

Sir John Finch was Speaker.

Eliot was the great champion of Parliamentary government, and died in prison for his part in this day's proceedings.

Lord Weston was Treasurer.

Eliot had prepared a series of resolutions declaring that any one who introduced innovations in religion, or furthered the spread of Popery or Arminianism, or advised the levying of tonnage or poundage without a grant by Parliament, or voluntarily paid such duties, should be regarded

Mr. Hollis, notwithstanding the endeavour of Sir Thomas Edmonds, Sir Humfrey May, and other privie Councillers to free the Speaker from the chaire, swore, 'God's wounds!' he should sitt still until they pleased to rise.

"Here Sir John Elliott begann in a rhetoricall oration to enveigh against the Lord Treasurer and the Bishop of Winchester, saying he could prove the Lord Treasurer to be a great instrument in the inovation of Religion, and invation of the liberties of the howse; and offered a remonstrance to the howse, wherein he said he could prove him to be the great enimie of the Commonwealth, saying that he had traced him in all his actions, and withall that if ever it were his fortune to meete againe in this honorable assemblie, he protested (as he was a gentleman) that where he nowe left he would there beginn againe; and further said, 'God knowes I nowe speake with all dutie to the King. It is true y^e misfortunes wee suffer are manie, wee knowe what discoveries have been made, howe Arminianisme creeps and undermines, and howe Poperie comes upon vs; they maske not in strange disguises, but expose themselves to the vewe of the world: in search whereof wee have fixed our eyes, not simply one the Actors (the Jesuits and Preists) but one their masters, those that are in authoritie; hence comes it wee suffer. The feare of them makes these interruptions. You have seene Prelates that are their Abettors. That great Bishop of Winchester, wee knowe what he hath done to favour them; this feare extends to some others, that contract a feare of being discovered, and they drawe from hence this iealosie: This is the Lord Treasurer, in whose person is contracted all the evill: I find him acting and building one those grounds laid by his Master the late great Duke of Buckingham, and his spiritt is moving for these interruptions: And from this feare they breake Parliaments lest Parliaments should breake them. I find him the head of all that great party y^e Papists; and all Jesuits and Preists

derive from him their shelter and protection. In this great question of Tonnage and Poundage, instruments moved at his command and pleasure, he dismaies our Merchants, and he invites strangers to come in to drive our trade, and to serve their owne ends.'

"The Remonstrance which he offered was put to a question, but the Speaker refused to doe it, and said he was otherwise commaunded from the King; whereupon Mr. Selden spake: — 'You say, Mr. Speaker, you dare not put the question which wee commaund you; if you will not put it, we must sitt still, and thus wee shall never be able to doe anie thing; they which maie come after you maie saie they have the Kinges commandment not to doe it. We sitt here, by commaundement of the Kinge, under the great Seale; and for you, you are by his Maiestie (sitting in his Royall chaire before both Howses), appointed our Speaker, and now you refuse to be our Speaker.' The Speaker made an humble supplicatory speech unto the Howse with extremitie of weeping, shewing what commaund he had received from his Maiesty, and withall desiring them not to command his ruine; yet, notwithstanding the Speaker's extremetie of weeping and supplicatory oration, Sir Peter Hayman (a gentleman of his own country) bitterly enveighed against him, and tould him, he was sorrie he was a Kentish man, and that he was a disgrace to his country, and a blott to a noble familie; and that all the inconveniences that should follow, and their distraccion should be derived to posteritie as the yssue of his basenes, with whome he should be remembred with scorne and disdaine. And that he, for his part, (since he would not be perswaded to doe his dutie,) thought it fitting he should be called to the Barr, and a newe Speaker chosen in the mean time, since neither advise nor threatninges would prevaile. Mr. Strowd spake much to the same effect, and tould the Speaker that he was the instrument to cutt of the libertie of the subject by the roote, and

as an enemy to the kingdom and a betrayer of the liberties of England.

The Speaker persisting in his refusal to do the will of the House, he was held in his chair and the door kept locked while Denzil Holles repeated Eliot's resolutions, and put the question, which was answered with shouts of "Ay!" "Ay!"

that if he would not be perswaded to put the same to question, they must all retorne as scattered sheepe, and a scorne put upon them as it was last session.

“The King, hearing that the Howse continued to sitt (notwithstanding his command for the adjournement thereof), sent a messinger for the Seriant with his mase, which being taken from the table there cann be noe further proceeding ; but the key of the dore was taken from the Seriant and delivered to Sir Miles Hubert to keepe, who, after he had received the same, put the Seriant out of the Howse, leaving his mase behind him, and then locked the dore. After this, the King sent Mr. Maxwell (the usher of the black rodd) for the dissolucion of the Parliament ; but being informed that neither he nor his message would be received by the Howse, the King grewe into much rage and passion, and sent for the Captaine of the Pentioners and Guard to force the dore ; but the rising of the Howse prevented the danger and ill consequence that might have followed.”

MS. of Lord Verulam (*Archæologia*, London, 1860, XXXVIII, 242-244).

The House voted its own adjournment and then went forth. Eleven years passed before it was permitted to meet again.

73. Reasons for Going to New England (1629)

By JOHN WINTHROP (1588-1649), a gentleman of Suffolk. In this same year Winthrop was chosen Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, and in 1630 he sailed for New England. — On the New England

“1. It will be a service to the Church of great consequence to carry the Gospell into those parts of the world, to helpe on the comminge of the fullnesse of the Gentiles, & to raise a Bulworke against the kingdome of AnteChrist w^{ch} the Jesuites labour to reare up in those parts.

“2. All other churches of Europe are brought to desolation, & o^r sinnes, for w^{ch} the Lord beginnes allready to frowne upon us & to cutte us short, doe threatne evill times to be comminge upon us, & whoe knowes, but that God hath

provided this place to be a refuge for many whome he meanes to save out of the generall calamity, & seeinge the Church hath noe place lefte to flie into but the wilderness, what better worke can there be, then to goe & provide tabernacles & foode for her against she comes thether :

“3. This Land growes weary of her Inhabitants, soe as man, whoe is the most pretious of all creatures, is here more vile & base then the earth we treade upon, & of lesse prise among us then an horse or a sheepe : masters are forced by authority to entertaine servants, parents to maintaine there owne children, all townes complaine of the burthen of their poore, though we have taken up many unnessisarie yea unlawfull trades to maintaine them, & we use the authoritie of the Law to hinder the increase of o^r people, as by urginge the Statute against Cottages, & inmates, & thus it is come to passe, that children, servants & neighboures, especially if they be poore, are compted the greatest burthens, w^{ch} if things weare right would be the cheifest earthly blessinges.

“4. The whole earth is the Lords garden & he hath given it to the Sonnes of men wth a gen^l Comission : Gen : 1 : 28 : increace & multiplie, & replenish the earth & subdue it, w^{ch} was againe renewed to Noah : the end is double & naturall, that man might enioy the fruits of the earth, & God might have his due glory from the creature : why then should we stand striving here for places of habitation, etc., (many men spending as much labour & coste to recover or keepe sometimes an acre or twoe of Land, as would procure them many & as good or better in another Countrie) & in the meane time suffer a whole Continent as fruitfull & convenient for the use of man to lie waste wthout any improvement?

“5. We are growne to that height of Intemperance in all excesse of Riott, as noe mans estate almost will suffice to keepe saile wth his aequalls : & he whoe failes herein, must live in scorne & contempt. Hence it comes that all

Colonies, see Hart, *American History told by Contemporaries*, also *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 7, 50.

Protestantism had received severe blows in France, Bohemia, and the Palatinate.

artes & Trades are carried in that deceitfull & unrighteous course, as it is allmost impossible for a good & upright man to mainetayne his charge & live comfortablie in any of them.

“6. The ffountaines of Learning & Religion are soe corrupted as (besides the unsupportable charge of there education) most children (even the best witts & of fairest hopes) are perverted, corrupted, & utterlie overthrowne by the multitude of evill examples & the licentious governm^t of those seminaries, where men straine at knatts & swallowe camells, use all severity for mainetaynance of cappes & other accomplyments, but suffer all ruffianlike fashions & disorder in manners to passe uncontrolled.

“7. What can be a better worke, & more honorable & worthy a Christian then to helpe raise & supporte a particular Church while it is in the Infancy, & to ioine his forces wth such a company of faithfull people, as by a timely assistance may growe stronge & prosper, & for wante of it may be put to great hazard, if not wholly ruined :

“8. If any such as are knowne to be Godly, & live in wealth & prosperity here, shall forsake all this, to ioine themselves wth this Church & to runne an hazard wth them of an hard & meane condition, it will be an example of great use both for removinge the scandall of worldly & sinister respects w^{ch} is cast upon the Adventurers ; to give more life to the faith of Gods people, in their praiers for the Plantation ; & to incourage others to ioine the more willingly in it.

“9. It appeares to be a worke of God for the good of his Church, in that he hath disposed the hartes of soe many of his wise & faithfull servants, both ministers & others, not onely to approve of the enterprise but to interest themselves in it, some in their persons & estates, other by their serious advise & helpe otherwise, & all by their praiers for the wealfare of it. Amos 3 : the Lord revealeth his secreat

to his servants the prophetts, it is likely he hath some great worke in hand w^{ch} he hath revealed to his prophetts among us, whom he hath stirred up to encourage his servants to this Plantation, for he doth not use to seduce his people by his owne prophetts, but comitte that office to the ministrie of false prophetts & lieing spiritts."

John Winthrop, "*Reasons to be considered for iustifieinge the undertakeres of the intended Plantation in New England*," etc. (R. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, Boston, 1864, I, 309-311).

74. A Puritan Gentleman

He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportioned shape in all parts, his complexion fair, his hair of light brown, very thick set in his youth, softer than the finest silk, and curling into loose great rings at the ends; his eyes of a lively grey, well-shaped and full of life and vigour, graced with many becoming motions; his visage thin, his mouth well-made, and his lips very ruddy and graceful, although the nether chap shut over the upper, yet it was in such a manner as was not unbecoming; his teeth were even and white as the purest ivory; his chin was something long, and the mould of his face; his forehead was not very high; his nose was raised and sharp; but withal he had a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity and majesty mixed with sweetness, that at the same time bespoke love and awe in all that saw him; his skin was smooth and white, his legs and feet excellently well-made; he was quick in his pace and turns, nimble and active and graceful in all his motions; he was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him; he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper years made any practice of it; he had skill in

By LUCY HUTCHINSON (1620-1675?), wife of Colonel John Hutchinson. She wrote the biography of her husband, from which this extract is taken, between the years 1664 and 1671. "As a picture of the life of a Puritan family, and the character of a Puritan gentleman, it is unique." Firth.

Colonel John Hutchinson was prominent on the parliamentary side during the civil wars. As governor of Notting-

ham Castle he successfully defended that stronghold against the royalist attacks. In 1646 he entered the Long Parliament, and he was one of those who signed the sentence against the king. Through the intervention of royalist friends he escaped the fate of the other regicides after the Restoration, but he lived under suspicion until his death in 1664.

fencing, such as became a gentleman ; he had a great love of music, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he played masterly ; and he had an exact ear and judgment in other music ; he shot excellently in bows and guns, and much used them for his exercise ; he had great judgment in paintings, graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of value in all kinds ; he took great delight in perspective glasses, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as the merit of the work ; he took much pleasure in improvement of grounds, in planting groves, and walks, and fruit-trees, in opening springs and making fish-ponds ; of country recreations he loved none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he used it, but soon left it off ; he was wonderfully neat, cleanly, and genteel in his habit, and had a very good fancy in it, but he left off very early the wearing of anything that was costly, yet in his plainest negligent habit appeared very much a gentleman ; he had more address than force of body, yet the courage of his soul so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it ; his conversation was very pleasant, for he was naturally cheerful, had a ready wit and apprehension ; he was eager in everything he did, earnest in dispute, but withal very rational, so that he was seldom overcome ; everything that it was necessary for him to do he did with delight, free and unconstrained ; he hated ceremonious compliment, but yet had a natural civility and complaisance to all people ; he was of a tender constitution, but through the vivacity of his spirit could undergo labours, watchings, and journeys, as well as any of stronger compositions ; he was rheumatic, and had a long sickness and distemper occasioned thereby, two or three years after the war ended, but else, for the latter half of his life, was healthy though tender ; in his youth and childhood he was sickly, much troubled with weakness and toothaches, but then his spirits carried

him through them ; he was very patient under sickness or pain, or any common accidents, but yet, upon occasions, though never without just ones, he would be very angry, and had even in that such a grace as made him to be feared, yet he was never outrageous in passion ; he had a very good faculty in persuading, and would speak very well, pertinently, and effectually without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offered, for indeed, his judgment was so nice, that he could never frame any speech beforehand to please himself ; but his invention was so ready, and wisdom so habitual in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himself of speaking at any time without ranking the words beforehand ; he was not talkative, yet free of discourse ; of a very spare diet, not given to sleep, and an early riser when in health ; he never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one else so ; in all his natural and ordinary inclinations and composure, there was something extraordinary and tending to virtue, beyond what I can describe, or can be gathered from a bare dead description ; there was a life of spirit and power in him that is not to be found in any copy drawn from him. To sum up, therefore, all that can be said of his outward frame and disposition, we must truly conclude, that it was a very handsome and well furnished lodging prepared for the reception of that prince, who in the administration of all excellent virtues reigned there a while, till he was called back to the palace of the universal emperor.

Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson* (edited by C. H. Firth, London, 1885), I, 32-35.

By G. GAR-
RARD, a
clergyman.

75. A Newsletter to Wentworth (1637)

May it please your Lordship,

My long Silence since the last of *July* I desire you to excuse, I must set the Saddle on the right Horse, and lay it on the Lord *Cottington*, who got me to *Funtell*, where he kept me near one Month, a Place near an hundred Miles from *London*, where I heard nothing of the Affairs of the World, therefore could write nothing. Since for this last Month I have been most at *Sion*, from whence now I write to your Lordship. Looking on my Diary, I find . . . *Ben. Johnson* dead in *England*; . . . horrible ado against the Bishops in *Scotland*, for seeking to bring in amongst them our Church-Service; strange flocking of the People after *Burton*, when he removed from the *Fleet* toward *Lancaster* Castle. Mr. *Ingram*, Sub-Warden of the *Fleet* told the King, that there was not less than one hundred thousand People gathered together to see him pass by, betwixt *Smithfield* and *Brown's Well*, which is two Miles beyond *Highgate*, his Wife went along in a Coach, having much Money thrown to her as she passed along. These Occurrences are so ancient and stale, that I will enlarge them no further: . . . I will now come to more fresh Things.

Complaint hath been made to the Lords of the Council of a Sheriff of *West Chester*, who when *Prynne* passed that Way through *Chester* to *Carnarvon* Castle, he with others met him, brought him into Town, feasted and defrayed him; besides, this Sheriff gave him a Suit of coarse Hangings to furnish his Chamber at *Carnarvon* Castle, other Presents were offered him, Money and other Things, but he refused them. This Sheriff is sent for up by a Pursuivant. . . .

The Fleet sent to *Sallee* by his Majesty under the Conduct of Captain *Rainsborough*, Captain *Cartwright*, and others, consisting of four Ships and two Pinnaces, hath had

Chancellor
of the Ex-
chequer.

The
dramatist.

See p. 230.

Henry Burton, a clergyman who, for his attacks upon the bishops in sermons and pamphlets, was condemned by the Star Chamber to lose his ears, pay a fine of £5000, and undergo imprisonment for life.

John Prynne was a learned Puritan barrister who was condemned in 1634 to the loss of his ears because of his attacks upon the stage, and the govern-

good Success. So that neither our *English* nor your *Irish* Coasts shall be troubled any more with them. The *Sallee* Men this Year had Ships in Readiness to come forth, of good Number, intending their Voyage for *England* and *Ireland*, were ready to set sail when our Fleet came before the Town, but they kept them in. . . .

The great Ship of the King's built in the great Dock at *Woolwich*, which is 1637 Tun, built in the same year of our Lord, not by Design, but yet it is so fallen out, is named the *Sovereign*. Both King and Queen at the last Full of the Moon went to see her launched, but it could not then be done, the Tides not falling out so great as they expected ; but the next Spring-Tides they hope to do it. She is the goodliest Ship that was ever built in *England*. . . .

Sir *Henry Vane*, the Comptroller's eldest Son, who hath been Governor in *New-England* this last Year is come Home ; whether he hath left his former misgrounded Opinions for which he left us, I know not. . . .

About the 20th of *September* my Lord of *Holland* went to keep his great Court of *Justice in Eyre*, both in *Northamptonshire* and *Oxford*. Against *Rockingham* Forest were found many great Trespassers ; my Lord was assisted by five Judges, *Bridgeman*, *Finch*, *Trevor*, *Jones*, and *Crawley* ; and those who were found faulty, were soundly fined ; my Lord of *Salisbury*, for his Father's Faults, if he made any, for *Brigstock-Parks* given him by Queen Elizabeth, was fined 20000 l. but I hope he will come off, for 'tis said, if his Counsel had been well informed by those Servants of his who attended the Business, and had showed in Time those Pardons which King *James* gave *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury*, when he came to the Crown, he had escaped fining, but now he is at the King's Mercy. The Earl of *Westmorland* was fined 19000 l. Sir *Christopher Hatton* 12000 l. my Lord *Newport* 3000 l. Sir *Lewis Watson* 4000 l. Sir *Robert Ban- nister* 3000 l. my Lord of *Peterborough*, my Lord *Brudenell*,

ment that countenanced it. In 1637, his offence was violent language against the government of the Church.

The popular sympathy displayed at this time was in striking contrast with the indifference shown toward *Prynne's* sufferings in 1634.

The *Sallee* men were Barbary pirates.

The *Sovereign* saw much service under Blake, and was burned through negligence in 1696.

"A ship which was second to none in the world, and which for more than a generation was the envy of foreign seamen." Clowes.

Vane was one of the advanced thinkers of his time. He left Eng-

land in 1635 because of dissatisfaction with Charles's rule. Disgusted with the intolerance of the colonists he returned home in time to take an active part in the Puritan revolution. — See J. Hosmer, *Young Sir Harry Vane*.

The boundaries of the forests in the whole of England had been fixed for more than three centuries in accordance with a survey made in the reign of Edward I. In 1634 the survey was declared invalid, and enormous fines were exacted from alleged trespassers.

The attempt of Charles and Laud to force the English Service Book upon Scotland roused an opposition which was the opening

Sir *Lewis Tresham*, and other little Fines, which I omit. The Bounds of this Forest of *Rockingham* are increased from six Miles to sixty. The Particulars of his Proceedings in *Oxfordshire* I know not; it was no great Matter he did there. My Lord *Danby* was fined 500 l. which he hath sent in.

I mentioned before an Attempt to bring in our *English* Church-Service into *Scotland*, which made a great Hubbub there, and was repelled with much Violence by the Common People, though Women appeared most in the Action, flinging their Stools at the Bishop, and renting his episcopal Garments off him, as he went forth of the Church, others flinging Stones at him in the Streets, so that if the Earl of *Roxborough* had not sought to quiet them, and receive him into his Coach, they had stoned him to Death. A second Attempt hath been made, of which fresh News is come thence to the Court, wherein they have sped worse. Besides some of the Nobless, and many of the Gentry and better Sort appear in it, who withstand it with greater Violence than before, so that there is no Hope that it will be effected.

On *Michaelmas* Day the King at *Hampton-Court* suddenly prickt the High Sheriffs of *England* and *Wales*, that so the more speedily they may go in Hand to gather the Ship-Monies for this next Year, the Writs being already sent to them. . . .

The *East India* Company here are giving over their Trade, the Disturbances they have received abroad by Ships sent out in the Name of Sir *William Curtine* and *Endymion Porter* have so disordered their Affairs, that except they receive present Comforts from the King and State here, and be by them protected, they cannot longer subsist; their Goods are seized on in the *East-Indies*, the Bodies of their Factors imprisoned, whom to free they have already paid great Sums of Money. And they are now resolving to call Home their Men, Goods and Shipping. Their breaking

will certainly for a Time diminish the King's Customs, as most conceive. . . .

So wishing unto your Lordship all Happiness, I am,
My Lord,

Your most humble Servant,

G. GARRARD.

Sion, Oct. 9th, 1637.

The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Despatches (edited by
W. Knowles, London, 1739), II, 114-118.

scene in the
Puritan
rebellion.

This was the
third writ of
ship money
made famous
through
Hampden's
resistance.—
See *Old
South Leaf-
lets*, No. 60.

CHAPTER XII—THE PURITAN REBELLION

By ROBERT
BAILLIE
(1599–1663),
a learned
Scottish

Presbyterian
divine. Bail-
lie was a
member of
the historic
general as-
sembly at
Glasgow in
1638, which
heralded the
revolt of
Scotland
against
Laud's
ecclesiastical
policy. In
1640 he was
sent to Lon-
don by the
covenanting
lords to draw
up an accu-
sation against
the arch-
bishop.

Later he was
one of the
Scottish com-
missioners in
the famous
Westminster
assembly.
He was not
in sympathy
with the In-
dependents,
and opposed
the execution
of Charles I.
At the time

76. The Impeachment of Strafford (1640– 1641)

ALL things here goes as our hearts could wish. The Lieutenant of Ireland came bot on Monday to toun late ; on Tuesday rested ; on Wednesday came to Parliament ; bot ere night, he was caged. Intollerable pryde and oppression cryes to Heaven for a vengeance. The Lower House closed their doores ; the Speaker kepted the keyes till his accusation was concluded. Thereafter, Mr. Pym went up, with a number at his back, to the Higher House and, in a prettie short speech, did, in name of the Lower House, and in name of the Commons of all England, accuse Thomas Earle of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland of high treasone and required his person to be arreisted till probatione might be heard. So Pym and his back were removed ; the Lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haste to the Lord Lieutenant, where he was with the King ; with speed he comes to the House ; he calls rudelie at the doore. James Maxwell keeper of the Black-Rod, opens ; his Lordship, with a proud glouming countenance, makes towards his place at the boord-head : bot at once manie bids him void the house, so he is forced in confusion, to goe to doore till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, bot is commanded to kneell and, on his knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delyvered to the keeper of the Black-Rod,

to be prisoner till he was cleared of these crymes the House of Commons did charge him with. He offered to speak, bot was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer roome James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword; when he had gotten it, he cryes, with a loud voyce, for his man to carrie my Lord Lieutenant's sword. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach, all gazeing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of England would have stood discovered: all crying, What is the matter? He said, A small matter I warrand yow! They replied, Yes indeed, high treason is a small matter! . . .

Westminster Hall is a roome as long as broad if not more than the outer house of the High Church of Glasgow, supponing the pillars wer removed. In the midst of it was erected a stage like to that prepared for the Assemblie of Glasgow, but much more large, taking up the breadth of the whole House from wall to wall, and of the length more than a thrid part. At the north end was set a throne for the King, and a chayre for the Prince; before it lay a large wooll-seck, covered with green, for my Lord Steward, the Earle of Arundaill; beneath it lay two other secks for my Lord Keeper and the Judges, with the rest of the Chancerie, all in their red robes. Beneath this a little table for four or fyve Clerks of the Parliament in their black gouns; round about these some fumes covered with green freese, whereupon the Earles and Lord's did sitt in their red robes, of that same fashion, lyned with the same whyte ermin skinner, as yow see the robes of our Lords when they ryde in Parliament; the Lords on their right sleeve having two barres of whyte skinner, the Viscounts two and ane half, the Earles three, the Marquess of Winchester three and ane half. England hath no more Marquesses: and he bot one late upstart of creature of Queen Elizabeth's. Hamilton

of his death he was principal of the University of Glasgow. His *Letters and Journals* are a valuable record of the time.

The Long Parliament met November 3, and by the 6th the formal attack upon Strafford had begun. Strafford came at once to London in obedience to the king's summons, but he knew his danger. He wrote to his secretary, "I am to-morrow to London with more dangers beset, I believe, than ever any man went with out of Yorkshire; yet my heart is good, and I find nothing cold in me." November 11 he appeared in the House of Lords.

Strafford's trial opened March 22. — See *Old South Leaflets*, No. 61.

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goes here bot among the Earles, and that a late one. Dukes, they have none in Parliament : York, Richmond, and Buckinghame are but boyes ; Lennox goeth among the late Earles. Behinde the formes where the Lords sitt, there is a barr covered with green : at the one end standeth the Committee of eight or ten gentlemen, appoynted by the House of Commons to pursue ; at the midst there is a little dask, where the prisoner Strafford stands and sits as he pleaseth, together with his keeper, Sir William Balfour the Lieutenant of the Tower. At the back of this is a dask, for Strafford's four secretars, who carries his papers and assists him in writing and reading ; at their side is a voyd for witnesses to stand ; and behinde them a long dask at the wall of the room for Strafford's counsell-at-law, some five or six able lawers, who were [not] permitted to dispuitt in matters of fact, bot questions of right, if any should be incident. This is the order of the House below on the floore ; the same that is used dailie in the Higher House. Upon the two sides of the House, east and west, there arose a stage of elevin ranks of formes, the highest touching almost the roof ; everie one of these formes went from the one end of the roome to the other, and contained about fortie men ; the two highest were divided from the rest by a raill, and a raill cutted off at everie end some seatts. The gentlemen of the Lower House did sitt within the raile, others without. All the doores were kepted verie straitlie with guards ; we alwayes behooved to be there a little after five in the morning. My Lord Willoughbie, Earle of Lindesay, Lord Chamberland of England, (Pembroke is Chamberland of the Court,) ordered the House, with great difficultie. James Maxwell, Black-Rod, was great usher ; a number of other servant gentlemen and knights assisted. By favour we got place within the raile, among the Commons. The House was full dailie before seven ; against eight the Earle of Strafford came in his barge from the Tower, accompanied

This was according to the law of the time.

Right, *i.e.* law.

with the Lieutenant and a guard of musqueteers and halberders. The Lords, in their robes, were sett about eight; the King was usuallie halfe ane howre before them: he came not into his throne, for that would have marred the action; for it is the order of England, that when the King appears, he speaks what he will, bot no other speaks in his presence. At the back of the throne was two roomes on the two sydes; in the one did Duke de Vanden, Duke de Vallet, and other French nobles sitt; in the other, the King, the Queen, Princesse Mary, the Prince Elector, and some Court ladies; the tirlies, that made them to be secret, the King brake down with his own hands; so they satt in the eye of all, bot little more regarded than if they had been absent; for the Lords satt all covered; these of the Lower House, and all other except the French noblemen, satt discovered when the Lords came, not else. A number of ladies wes in boxes, above the railles, for which they payed much money. It was dailie the most glorious Assemblie the Isle could afford; yet the gravitie not such as I expected; oft great clamour without about the doores; in the intervalles, while Strafford was making readie for answers, the Lords gott alwayes to their feet, walked and clattered; the Lower House men too loud clattering; . . .

Robert Baillie, Letters and Journals (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1841), I, 272, 273, 314-316.

77. Charles I and Strafford (1641)

Strafford,

The misfortune that is fallen upon you by the strange mistaking and conjuncture of these times, being such, that I must lay by the thought of employing you hereafter in my affairs; yet I cannot satisfy myself in honour or con-

By CHARLES I (1600-1649). The bill of attainder against Strafford had already passed the Commons

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by a vote of 204 to 49, and it was certain to pass the Lords, but Charles still hoped to save his minister. In the end it was the king's efforts that ruined Strafford. "It was not so much a question whether Strafford had been a traitor as whether Charles could be trusted." Gardiner.

On the 10th of May the king, moved by fears for his wife and children, agreed to the bill of attainder. When Strafford heard what Charles had done he exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation."

This letter was delivered to the Lords by the Prince of Wales in person.

science without assuring you (now in the midst of your troubles), that upon the word of a king you shall not suffer in life, honour, or fortune. This is but justice, and therefore a very mean reward from a master to so faithful and able a servant as you have showed yourself to be ; yet it is as much as I conceive the present times will permit, though none shall hinder me from being,

Your constant, faithful friend,

CHARLES R.

Whitehall, April 23, 1641.

The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Despatches (edited by W. Knowles, London, 1739) II, 416.

My lords,

I did yesterday satisfy the justice of the kingdom, by passing of the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford ; but mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a king as justice, I desire at this time in some measure, to show that likewise, by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in a close imprisonment, yet so that, if ever he make the least offer to escape, or offer, directly or indirectly, to meddle with any sort of public business, especially with me, either by message or letter, it shall cost him his life, without further press.

This, if it may be done without the discontent of my people, will be an unspeakable comfort to me ; to which end, as in the first place, I by this letter do earnestly desire your approbation ; and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry, that of all your house is most dear to me ; so I do desire, that by a conference you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment ; likewise assuring you, that the exercise is no more pleasing to me than to see both Houses of Parliament consent, for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the law in so important a case. I will not say, that your complying with me in this my pre-

tended mercy, shall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more cheerful in granting your just grievances ; but, if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say, *fiat justitia*.

Thus again earnestly recommending the consideration of my intentions to you, I rest,

Your unalterable and affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

Whitehall, 11th May, 1641.

If he *must* die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

Harleian Mss. 1769, art. 12.

78. The Attempted Arrest of the Five Members (1642)

... The said five accused Members this day *after dinner* came into the House, and did appear according to the special Order and Injunction of the House laid upon them yesterday, to give their attendance upon the House, *de die in diem* and their appearance was entred in the Journal.

They were no sooner sate in their places, but the House was informed by one Captain *Langrish*, lately an Officer in Arms in *France*, that he came from among the Officers, and Souldiers at *White Hall*, and understanding by them, that his Majesty was coming with a Guard of Military Men, Commanders and Souldiers, to the House of Commons, he passed by them with some difficulty to get to the House before them, and sent in word how near the said Officers and Souldiers were come ; Whereupon a certain Member of the House having also private Intimation from the Countess of *Carlile*, Sister to the Earl of *Northumberland*, that endeavours would be used this day to apprehend the five

By JOHN RUSHWORTH (1612 ?-1690), historian. During the civil troubles Rushworth acted as clerk to the House of Commons, secretary to the Council of War of the New Model, and for a short time as secretary to Cromwell. He was also employed in various important negotiations. At the Restoration he made his peace with the court. He sat in Parliament, and

for a time was employed by the Colony of Massachusetts to act as its agent. His *Historical Collections* fill eight volumes, and are a valuable and fairly impartial record of the period.

The report that the House of Commons intended to impeach the queen for plotting against Parliament impelled Charles to a counter attack against the parliamentary leaders. Urged by the queen, who cried, "Go, you coward! and pull those rogues out by the ears, or never see my face more," Charles decided to make sure of his victims by arresting them himself.

Before the king left Whitehall the queen had trusted the secret to

Members, the House required the five Members to depart the House forthwith, to the end to avoid Combustion in the House, if the said Souldiers should use Violence to pull any of them out. To which Command of the House, four of the said Members yielded ready Obedience, but Mr. *Stroud* was obstinate, till Sir *Walter Earle* (his ancient acquaintance) pulled him out by force, the King being at that time entring into the *New Pallace-yard*, in *Westminster*: And as his Majesty came through *Westminster Hall*, the Commanders, Reformadoes, &c. that attended him, made a Lane on both sides the Hall (through which his Majesty passed and came up the Stairs to the House of Commons) and stood before the Guard of Pentioners, and Halberteers, (who also attended the Kings Person,) and the door of the House of Commons being thrown open, his Majesty entred the House, and as he passed up towards *the Chair* he cast his eye on the Right-hand near the Bar of the House, where Mr. *Pym* used to sit, but his Majesty not seeing him there (knowing him well) went up to the Chair, and said, "By your leave, (Mr. Speaker) I must borrow your Chair a little," whereupon the Speaker came out of the Chair, and his Majesty stept up into it, after he had stood in the Chair a while, casting his Eye upon the Members as they stood up *uncovered*, but could not discern any of the five Members to be there, nor indeed were they easie to be discerned (had they been there) among so many bare Faces all standing up together.

Then his Majesty made this Speech,

"Gentlemen,

I Am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you: Yesterday I sent a Serjeant at Arms upon a very Important occasion to apprehend some that by my command were accused of High Treason, whereunto I did expect Obedience and not a Message. And I must declare unto

you here, that albeit, no King that ever was in *England*, shall be more careful of your Priviledges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power then I shall be ; yet you must know that in Cases of Treason, no person hath a priviledge. And therefore I am come to know if any of these persons that were accused are here : For I must tell you Gentlemen, that so long as these persons that I have accused (for no slight Crime but for Treason) are here, I cannot expect that this House will be in the Right way that I do heartily wish it : Therefore I am come to tell you that I must have them wheresoever I find them. Well since I see all the Birds are Flown, I do expect from you, that you shall send them unto me, as soon as they return hither. But I assure you, in the word of a King, I never did intend any Force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other.

And now since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, That whatsoever I have done in favour, and to the good of my Subjects, I do mean to maintain it.

I will trouble you no more, but tell you I do expect as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me ; otherwise I must take my own Course to find them."

When the King was looking about the House, the Speaker standing below by the Chair, his Majesty ask'd him, whether any of these persons were in the House? Whether he saw any of them? and where they were? To which the Speaker falling on his Knee, thus Answered.

"May it please your Majesty, I Have neither Eyes to see, nor Tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose Servant I am here, and humbly beg your Majesties Pardon, that I cannot give any other Answer than this, to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me."

Lady Carlisle.

On Strode, see No. 72.

The king's command was held to be breach of privilege.

William Lenthall, "the first to realise the position of a Speaker in times of political controversy." Gardiner.

The King having Concluded his Speech, went out of the House again which was in great disorder, and many Members cried out, aloud so as he might hear them, "Priviledge ! Priviledge !" and forthwith Adjourned till the next Day at One of the Clock. . . .

John Rushworth, *Historical Collections* (London, 1691), IV, 477, 478.



79. Toleration in the Army (1643)

"To Major-General Crawford : These "

Cambridge, 10th March "1643."

Sir, — The complaints you preferred to my Lord against your Lieutenant-Colonel, both by Mr. Lee and your own Letters, have occasioned his stay here: — my Lord being "so" employed in regard of many occasions which are upon him, that he hath not been at leisure to hear him make his defence: which, in pure justice, ought to be granted him or any man before a judgment be passed upon him.

During his abode here and absence from you, he hath acquainted me what a grief it is to him to be absent from his charge, especially now the regiment is called forth to action: and therefore, asking of me my opinion, I advised him speedily to repair unto *you*. Surely you are not well advised thus to turn-off one so faithful to the Cause, and so able to serve you as this man is. Give me leave to tell you, I cannot be of your judgment; "cannot understand," if a man notorious for wickedness, for oaths, for drinking, hath as great a share in your affection as one who fears an oath, who fears to sin, — that this doth commend your election of men to serve as fit instruments in this work! —

By OLIVER CROMWELL (1599-1658),

soldier, statesman, practical idealist.

"In the world of action what Shakespeare was in the world of thought, the greatest because the most typical Englishman of all time." Gardiner. — See Cromwell, *Letters and Speeches*; Gardiner, *Cromwell's Place in History*.

The officer here referred to, Lieutenant Colonel Packer, is probably the same with one who later gave Cromwell much trouble because of his extreme opinions.

Ay, but the man 'is an Anabaptist.' Are you sure of that? Admit he be, shall that render him incapable to serve the Public? 'He is indiscreet.' It may be so, in some things: we have all human infirmities. I tell you, if you had none but such 'indiscreet men' about you, and would be pleased to use them kindly, you would find as good a fence to you as any you have yet chosen.

Sir, the State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it, — that satisfies. I advised you formerly to bear with men of different minds from yourself: if you had done it when I advised you to it, I think you would not have had so many stumblingblocks in your way. It may be you judge otherwise; but I tell you my mind. — I desire you would receive this man into your favour and good opinion. I believe, if he follow my counsel, he will deserve no other but respect from you. Take heed of being sharp, or too easily sharpened by others, against those to whom you can object little but that they square not with you in every opinion concerning matters of religion. If there be any other offence to be charged upon him, — that must in a judicial way receive determination. I know you will not think it fit my Lord should discharge an Officer of the Field but in a regulate way. I question whether you or I have any precedent for that. I have not farther to trouble you: — but rest, your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Oliver Cromwell, *Letters and Speeches* (edited by T. Carlyle, London, 1870), I, 186–188.

Baillie (see No. 76) wrote in 1644, "Manchester himself a sweet, meek man, permitted his lieutenant General, Cromwell, to guide all the army at his pleasure. The man had a very wise and an active head, universally well beloved, as religious and stout; being a known Independent, the most of the soldiers who loved new ways put themselves under his command. Our country man, Crawford, was made major General of that army. This man proving very stout and successful, got a great hand with Manchester and with all the army that were not for the sects." See No. 80.

80. The Self-denying Ordinance (1644)

By JOHN
RUSH-
WORTH.
See No. 78.

. . . Some were thought too fond of a Peace, and others over-desirous to spin out the War, and others engaged in such particular Feuds, that there was little vigorous Action to be expected from such disagreeing Instruments. And yet to search too deep into past Miscarriages, or determine in favour of either of those that mutually Recriminated each other, might (under their then present Circumstances) prove the next danger to suffering a Continuance of the same Inconveniencies. Besides, there were of the Army-Officers (especially since the coming in of the *Scots*) two apparent Parties, the first zealous for setting up *Presbytery*, the other (called *Independents*) endeavoured to decline that Establishment; and of this latter party Lieutenant General *Cromwell* was esteemed one of the Chief; and as on that score he was little beloved by the *Scots*, so by reason of his Popularity, General *Essex* began to Entertain some Jealousies of him, and therefore with the *Scotch* Commissioners had a Consultation (about the end of *November* or beginning of *Decemb.* 1644) touching the means how to remove him, which by Mr. *Whitlock* (a Person present and concern'd) is related to this effect. . . .

But Mr. Whitlock adds, That "there was cause to believe, that some present at this Debate were false Brethren, and informed *Cromwell* of all that passed, which might make him carry on his designs more actively for his own Advancement." And indeed it may well be presumed he was not like to be behind-hand in Artifices for removing of those that would have removed him.

But from whatever Grounds or Motives it sprang, so it was that on the Ninth of *Decemb.* 1644, (the Parliament's Forces being then settled in their Winter Quarters, and most of the Commanders in Chief, who were Members of either House of Parliament, being in Town) the House of

December 3
at Essex
House.

Probably
Whitelock
himself
(see No. 81).

The Self-Denying Ordinance 243

Commons took into Consideration the sad Condition of the Kingdom in reference to its Grievances by the Burthen of the War in case the Treaty for a Peace, which was then propounded (and of the successless issue of which we have before in the former Volume given an Account) should not take effect, nor the War be effectually prosecuted. After a long Debate of this matter, the House Voted themselves into a Grand Committee, where there was a general silence for a good space of time, many looking one upon another, to see who would break the Ice, and speak first in so tender and sharp a Point: Amongst whom *Oliver Cromwell* stood up, and spake shortly to this effect.

“THAT it was now time to speak, or for ever to hold the tongue: The important occasion being no less than to save a Nation out of a Bleeding, nay, almost dying condition, which the long continuance of the War had already brought it into; so that without a more speedy vigorous and effectual prosecution of the War, casting off all lingering proceedings like Soldiers of Fortune beyond Sea, to spin out a War, we shall make the Kingdom weary of us, and hate the Name of a Parliament. For what do the Enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were Friends at the beginning of the Parliament? even this, That the Members of both Houses have got great Places and Commands, and the Sword into their hands, and what by Interest in Parliament, and what by power in the Army, will perpetually continue themselves in Grandeur, and not permit the War speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This I speak here to our own Faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our Backs. I am far from reflecting on any, I know the worth of those Commanders, Members of both Houses who are yet in power; but if I may speak my Conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive if the Army be not put into another Method, and the War more vigorously prosecuted, the People can bear the War

The desire of Cromwell, and of those who held with him, was not to advance their

own interests, or to strike down this or that man, but to bring the war to a satisfactory conclusion.

no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable Peace. But this I would recommend to your Prudence not to insist upon any Complaint or over-sight of any Commander in Chief upon any occasion whatsoever; for as I must acknowledge my self Guilty of Over-sights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in Military Affairs; therefore waving a strict inquiry into the Causes of these things, let us apply our selves to the Remedy which is most necessary: And I hope, we have such true *English* Hearts, and zealous Affections towards the General Weal of our Mother-Country, as no Members of either House will scruple to deny themselves and their own private Interests for the publick Good, nor account it to be a dishonour done to them whatever the Parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter."

Another spoke to this purpose.

"Whatever is the matter (which I list not so much to inquire after) two Summers are past over, and we are not saved: Our Victories (the price of Blood invaluable) so gallantly gotten, and (which is more pity) so Graciously bestowed, seem to have been put into a Bag with holes; what we won one time, we lost another: The Treasure is Exhausted, The Country's Wasted: A Summer's Victory has proved but a Winter's Story; the Game however shut up with Autumn, was to be new play'd again the next Spring; as if the Blood that has been shed were only to manure the Field of War for a more plentiful Crop of Contention. Mens hearts have failed them with the Observation of these things; The Cause whereof the Parliament has been tender of Ravelling into. But Men cannot be hindred from venting their Opinions privately, and their Fears, which are various, and no less variously express'd; concerning which I determine nothing, but this I would say, 'tis apparent that the Forces being under several great Commanders, want of good Correspondency amongst the Chieftains, has oftentimes hindred the Publick Service."

But the first that moved expresly to have all Members of Parliament Excluded from Commands and Offices was Mr. *Zouch Tate*; wherein he was seconded by Sir *Henry Vane* Jun. and others. The Debate lasted long, but in conclusion the Grand Committee came to this Resolution, "That "no Member of either House of Parliament shall during "the War Enjoy or Execute any Office or Command Military or Civil, and that an Ordinance be brought in to "that purpose."

John Rushworth, *Historical Collections* (London, 1701), VI, 1-5.

The effect of this resolution would be to exclude Cromwell as well as Manchester and Essex from commands. But Cromwell desired to secure the success of his cause even at the cost of his own position.

On December 10 the Self-denying Ordinance passed the Commons, but it was thrown out by the Lords. Finally, on April 3, 1645, a second Self-denying Ordinance was passed. This marked the triumph of the Independents.

81. Naseby (1645)

This was the day of the famous Battel at *Naseby*. The King had drawn off from *Borough-hill* to *Harborough*, purposing to march to *Pomfret*, and thinking if he were followed, he should fight with more advantage Northward.

Fairfax sent out *Ireton* with a flying party of Horse, who fell upon a party of the King's Rere quartered in *Naseby* Town, took many prisoners, some of the Prince's Lifeguard, and *Langdale's* Brigade.

This gave such an alarm to the whole Army, that the King at Midnight leaves his own quarters, and for security hastens to *Harborough*, where the Van of his Army was quartered, raiseth P. *Rupert*, and calls a Council of War.

There it was resolved (and chiefly by P. *Rupert's* eagerness, old Commanders being much against it) to give Battel: and because *Fairfax* had been so forward, they would no longer stay for him, but seek him out. *Fairfax* was come from *Gilborough* to *Gilling*, and from thence to *Naseby*, where both Armies drawn up in *Battalia*, faced each other.

The King commanded the main Body of his Army, Prince

By BULSTRODE WHITELOCK (1605-1675), member of the Long Parliament, and prominent in the various peace negotiations. See No. 80.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was commander-

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in-chief of
the New
Model.

Rupert and Prince *Maurice* the Right Wing, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the Left, the Earl of *Lindsey* and the Lord *Ashley* the right hand Reserve, the Lord *Bard* and Sir *George L'Isle* the left Reserve.

Under the
Self-denying
Ordinance
Cromwell re-
signed his
place as
lieutenant-
general, but
in response
to a general
demand he
was rein-
stated by the
Commons on
the 10th of
June, four
days before
the battle of
Naseby.

Of the Parliaments Army *Fairfax* and *Skippon* commanded the Main Body, *Cromwel* the Right Wing, with whom was *Rosseter*, and they both came in but a little before the Fight: *Ireton* commanded the Left Wing, the Reserves were brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Hammond* and *Pride*.

P. Rupert began and charged the Parliaments Left Wing with great resolution; *Ireton* made gallant resistance, but at last was forced to give ground, he himself being run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, and his Horse shot under him, and himself taken Prisoner.

Prince *Rupert* follows the chase almost to *Naseby* Town, and in his return, summoned the Train, who made no other answer but by their Fire-locks, he also visited the Carriages where was good plunder, but his long stay so far from the Main Body was no small prejudice to the King's Army.

In the mean time *Cromwel* charged furiously on the King's Left Wing, and got the better, forcing them from the Body, and prosecuting the advantage, quite broke them, and their Reserve.

During which, the Main Bodies had charged one another with incredible fierceness, often retreating and rallying, falling in together with the Butends of their Muskets, and coming to hand blows with their Swords.

Langdale's men having been in some discontent before, did not in this Fight behave themselves as they used to doe in others, as their own party gave it out of them; yet they did their parts, and the rest of the King's Army both Horse and Foot performed their duties with great courage and resolution, both Commanders and Souldiers.

Some of the Parliament horse having lingred awhile about pillage, and being in some disadvantage, *Skippon* perceiving it, brought up his foot seasonably to their assistance, and in this charge (as himself related it to me) was shot in the side.

Cromwel coming in with his victorious Right Wing, they all charged together upon the King, who unable to endure any longer, got out of the Field towards *Leicester*.

P. *Rupert*, who now too late returned from his improvident eager pursuit, seeing the day lost, accompanied them in their flight, leaving a compleat Victory to the Parliamentarians, who had the chase of them for 14 Miles, within two Miles of *Leicester*; and the King finding the pursuit so hot, left that Town, and hasts to *Litchfield*.

This Battel was wone and lost as that of *Marston Moor*, but proved more destructive to the King and his party; and it was exceeding bloody, both Armies being very courageous and numerous, and not 500 odds on either side.

It was fought in a large fallow Field, on the North-west side of *Naseby*, about a Mile broad, which space of ground was wholly taken up.

On the Parliaments side were wounded and slain above 1000 Officers and private Souldiers. M. G. *Skippon* (an old experienced Souldier) was ordered to draw up the form of the Battel, he fought stoutly that day, and although he was sorely wounded in the beginning of the Fight, and the General desired him to go off the Field, he answered, *he would not stir so long as a man would stand*, and accordingly staid till the Battel was ended. Fairfax.

Ireton was dangerously hurt, and taken Prisoner for a while, after he had done his part, but, in the confusion of the Fight got loose again, and saw the Victory atchieved by his party.

The General had his Helmet beat off, and riding in the field bare headed up and down from one part of his Army

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to another, to see how they stood, and what advantage might be gained, and coming up to his owne Life Guard commanded by Colonel *Charles D'Oyley*, he was told by him that he exposed himself to too much danger, and the whole Army thereby, riding bare headed in the fields, and so many Bullets flying about him, and *D'Oyley* offered his General his Helmet, but he refused it, saying, *it is well enough* Charles: and seeing a Body of the King's foot stand, and not at all broken, he asked *D'Oyley* if he had charged that Body, who answered, *that he had twice charged them, but could not break them.*

With that *Fairfax* bid him to charge them once again in the front, and that he would take a commanded party, and charge them in the Rere at the same time, and they might meet together in the middle, and bad him, when *Fairfax* gave the sign to begin the charge.

D'Oyley pursued his General's Orders, and both together charging that Body put them into a confusion, and broke them, and *Fairfax* and *D'Oyley* met indeed in the middle of them, where *Fairfax* killed the Ensign, and one of *D'Oyley's* Troupers took the Colours, bragging of the service he had done in killing the Ensign and taking the chief Colours.

D'Oyley chid the Trouper for his boasting and lying, telling him how many witnesses there were who saw the General doe it with his own hand, but the General himself bad *D'Oyley* to let the Trouper alone, and said to him, I have honour enough, *let him take that honour to himself.*

Both the General and the Lieutenant General performed their work with admirable resolution, and by their particular examples infused valour into their followers, so likewise did the other Officers, of whom divers were wounded.

On the other side the King shewed himself this day a

Death-Warrant of Charles I 249

courageous General, keeping close with his Horse, and himself in person rallying them to hot encounters.

Sir Bulstrode Whitelock, *Memorials* (London, 1682), 145, 146.

82. The Death-Warrant of Charles I (1649)

At the high Co^t of Justice for the tryinge and iudginge
of Charles Steuart Kinge of England January xxixth
Anno Dñi 1648.

Whereas Charles Steuart Kinge of England is and standeth
convicted attaynted and condemned of High Treason and
other high Crymes, And sentence *uppon Saturday last*^{was} pro-
nounced against him by this Co^t to be putt to death by the
severinge of his head from his body Of w^{ch} sentence exe-
cucūn yet remayneth to be done, These are therefore to will
and require you to see the said sentence executed *In the*
open Streete before Whitehall vppon the morrowe being
the Thirtieth day of this instant moneth of January
betweene the houres of Tenn in the morninge and *Five* in
the afternoone of the same day wth full effect And for soe
doing this shall be yo^r sufficient warrant And these are to
require All Officers and Souldiers and other the good people
of this Nation of England to be assistinge vnto *you in* this
Service Given vnder o^r hands and Seales.

To Colonell *Ffrancis Hacker*, Colonell Huncks and Liev-
tenant Colonell *Phayre* and to every of them.

JO. BRADSHAW
THO. GREY
O. CROMWELL
&c. &c.

By the HIGH
COURT OF
JUSTICE. On
the 27th of
January,
1649, the
High Court
of Justice
passed sen-
tence of
death upon
Charles I
"as a tyrant,
traitor, mur-
derer, and
public
enemy." The
death-war-
rant bears
fifty-nine sig-
natures, but
all accounts
go to prove
that some
were ob-
tained only
with diffi-
culty. — On
the trial and
execution of
Charles I, see
Gardiner,
*History of
the Great
Civil War*.

The italics
indicate
erasures.

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By ANDREW
MARVELL.
See No. 89.

83. The Death of Charles I (1649)

He nothing common did, or mean,
Upon that memorable scene,
 But with his keener eye
 The axe's edge did try;
Nor called the gods with vulgar spite
To vindicate his helpless right,
 But bowed his comely head
 Down, as upon a bed.

Andrew Marvell, *A Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland*. *Poetical Works* (Boston, 1857), 136.

CHAPTER XIII—PURITAN RULE

84. Milton to Cromwell (1652)

CROMWELL, our chief of men, who, through a cloud
Not of war only, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough'd,
And on the neck of crowned fortune proud
Hast rear'd God's trophies, and his work pursued,
While Darwen stream, with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbar field, resounds thy praises loud,
And Worcester's laureate wreath. Yet much remains
To conquer still; peace hath her victories
No less renown'd than war: new foes arise
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains:
Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.

John Milton, *Ode to the Lord General Cromwell*. *Poetical Works*
(edited by J. Montgomery, London, 1843), II, 214.

85. Cromwell and the Long Parliament (1653)

The Parliament now perceiving to what kind of excesses the madness of the army was like to carry them, resolved to leave as a legacy to the people the Government of a Commonwealth by their representatives, when assembled in Parliament, and in the intervals thereof by a Council of

By JOHN MILTON (1608-1674), one of the greatest of English poets. During the Puritan revolution Milton's sympathies were with the Independent and Republican party. Under the Commonwealth he became Latin secretary to the council of state, retaining this office throughout the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. "By a rare or unexampled fortune, the first political genius of his age was served by the first literary genius of his time." F. Harrison.

This sonnet was written during Cromwell's struggle with the Long Parliament.

By EDMUND LUDLOW (1617?-1692), an active member in the Long Parliament, Colonel in

the parliamentary army, and a signer of the sentence against the king. Under the Commonwealth he was second in command in Ireland. His sympathies were with the extreme Republican party, and he opposed the Protectorate. After the Restoration he escaped to the Continent, returning for a few months at the Revolution. His Memoirs, composed during his exile, give a valuable picture of the civil war in England and Ireland, and throw much light upon the struggle between the popular party and Cromwell, but the writer's prejudices are strong, and he is not always accurate.

Cromwell and the army did not object to the dissolution

State, chosen by them, and to continue till the meeting of the next succeeding Parliament, to whom they were to give an account of their conduct and management. To this end they resolved, without any further delay, to pass the Act for their own dissolution; of which Cromwell having notice, makes haste to the House, where he sat down and heard the debate for some time. Then calling to Major-General Harrison, who was on the other side of the House, to come to him, he told him, that he judged the Parliament ripe for a dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it. The Major-General answered, as he since told me; 'Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it.' 'You say well,' replied the General, and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the Bill being to be put, he said again to Major-General Harrison, 'this is the time I must do it;' and suddenly standing up, made a speech, wherein he loaded the Parliament with the vilest reproaches, charging them not to have a heart to do any thing for the publick good, to have espoused the corrupt interest of Presbytery and the lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression, accusing them of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power, had they not been forced to the passing of this Act, which he affirmed they designed never to observe, and thereupon told them, that the 'Lord had done with them, and had chosen other instruments for the carrying on his work that were more worthy. This he spoke with so much passion and discomposure of mind, as if he had been distracted. Sir Peter Wentworth stood up to answer him, and said, that this was the first time that ever he had heard such unbecoming language given to the Parliament, and that it was the more horrid in that it came from their servant, and their servant whom they had so highly trusted and obliged: but as he was going on, the General stepped into the midst of the House, where con-

tinuing his distracted language, he said, 'Come, come, I will put an end to your prating;' then walking up and down the House like a mad-man, and kicking the ground with his feet, he cried out, 'You are no Parliament, I say you are no Parliament; I will put an end to your sitting; call them in, call them in:' whereupon the serjeant attending the Parliament opened the doors, and Lieutenant-Colonel Worstley with two files of musqueteers entred the House; which Sir Henry Vane observing from his place, said aloud, 'This is not honest, yea it is against morality and common honesty.' Then Cromwel fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, 'O Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane.' Then looking upon one of the members, he said, 'There sits a drunkard,' and giving much reviling language to others, he commanded the mace to be taken away, saying, 'What shall we do with this bauble? here, take it away.' Having brought all into this disorder, Major-General Harrison went to the Speaker as he sat in the chair, and told him, that seeing things were reduced to this pass, it would not be convenient for him to remain there. The Speaker answered, that he would not come down unless he were forced. 'Sir,' said Harrison, 'I will lend you my hand;' and thereupon putting his hand within his, the Speaker came down. Then Cromwel applied himself to the members of the House, who were in number between 80 and 100, and said to them, 'It's you that have forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work.'

of Parliament, but to the provision by which the present members were to retain their seats.

Ludlow was not present at the expulsion, but learnt these details from Harrison in 1656. According to other accounts Cromwell's action was much less violent.

For Sir Henry Vane, see No. 75.

Deaths, withdrawals, expulsions, had reduced the number of the members to about 100.

Edmund Ludlow, *Memoirs* (edited by C. H. Firth, Oxford, 1894), I, 351-354.

ANONY-
MOUS. Dur-
ing the year
1653 Eng-
land dealt
the commer-
cial and
maritime
supremacy
of Holland
many severe
blows. The
fight here de-
scribed was
one of the
most stub-
born contests
of that year.
On the 12th
and 13th of
June, Tromp,
the greatest
naval com-
mander of
the age, en-
gaged in
battle with
Monck and
Blake off
Dunkirk. In
the end the
Dutch were
forced to
seek the shel-
ter of their
own ports.
The English
claimed to
have sunk
eight of the
enemy's
ships, and to
have taken
eleven.
The Dutch
Vice-
admiral,
de-With,
declared to
the States-
General,
"The Eng-
lish are now
masters of us,
and there-

86. The Rivalry of England and Holland (1653)

With this unexpected news of the beating of our fleete here is great amasement; and the more, because the great fleete at the Flie for Eastland and other parts are sent for up, which caused the corne to rise yesterday four pounds upon a last, and feared may rise more, if noe shippys may goe to sea; and if the busses cannot goe out neyther to gett herrings, heere will be desolate time. All the mariners of the Eastland fleete shal be prest, and put aboarde the men of warr; and soldiers also shal be prest out of every company to supply every shipp with twenty new souldiers; so that the garrisons are made so bare of souldiers that we feare the cytisens must be forced to march to the fronter towns to preserve them. At Amsterdam are five or six men of warr redy to goe downe to the Texell, and seven or eight more are hasted to be shortly redye, which are lusty shippys; and from thence goe two commissioners to Zealand to haste out their shippys all that are fitt for warr. For if we cannot prevent the Inglish from layinge upon our coste, this land wil be quickly undone, which wil not be indured; and therefore 'tis taken deeply to harte, and every stone wil be moved to prevent such an evill. For in three or four weekes we heere expect five Straites shippys, with two men of warr for convoye, which we have writinge sett sail some three or four weekes agoe from Livorne; and in few dais after were ten men of warr to follow to goe to Hollande, beinge there stronge enough besides, seeing the Inglish have abandoned the Straites; all which and many other will be taken by the Inglish, if they may lay upon our costs. But here 'tis not doubted of, but we shall quickly have a mighty fleete at sea, to beare heade against the Inglish. Heere is also great feare, that our East-Indie ships,

expected this yeare, may fall into the English handes; to prevent which, the East India company are resolved to sende out fifty men of warr at their owne charge, if they can possibly get them.

The six East India ships, that were laden and below redy to goe out with the fleete, are sent for up to be unladen, to be made men of warr; for now all our welfarre hangs upon it. . . .

Here is a generall arrest of all shippes, noe shippes or boats soe small, that may goe to sea; and the more for feare any marriners should goe away; for they goe not now gredyly against the English, seeing they gett nothinge but blowes.

'Tis heere pitifull to see the amasement amongst all sorts of people; yea the merchant never looked with such a countenance, which is sad to see upon the exchange.

Another writes, that seeinge we are now blocked up in our havens, all our hoopes is of a good peace; to which end deputies are a sending for Englande. . . .

. . . It is collected by all reports made, that this fight was only performed with the cannon, and that the ships came not so near as to charge each other with musket shot; and that the English had greater guns than the Hollanders, and therefore had the advantage, and prevailed. We had also certain Information, that Blake with twenty or thirty ships had joined himself with the English fleet; so that the English fleet is now above 130 sail strong. Nevertheless we are nowise out of hope, but all this shall be repaired again, and a fleet put out to sea, which shall force the English to go and keep their own coast.

The fleet of merchants bound for the Eastland lie in the Flye four or five hundred sail, and are commanded to stop and lie still; but as soon as we shall observe the English gone away, the aforesaid Eastland fleet shall put to sea; as

fore of the sea." The first of these two "letters of intelligence," written from Holland a week after the fight, depicts the feeling of the people, and shows incidentally the wide commercial interests of the Dutch; the second throws some light on methods of fighting at that time. — On the trouble with the Dutch see *American History Leaflets*, No. 19.

also a considerable number of herring busses; together with the ships appointed for Muscovia.

Men labour here to extenuate the retreat of the Holland fleet (none daring to call it a beating) as much as is possible to do. It was a misfortune that the English had always the wind of them, which gives a very great advantage, and if the Hollanders should have had that advantage against the English, they had totally routed and ruined them; and they are confident here, if there happen another encounter, and the Dutch get the wind of the English, that they will either take, or burn, or sink the English wholly. Also that the Hollanders and Zealanders will prevail in point of boarding and entring, because the English have no mind to work, being diffident and fearful of themselves. They report that de Ruyter had once boarded admiral Monck and had already driven and chased all Monck's men under deck and out of sight, and that he had undoubtedly taken him, had he not been succoured and seconded with five or six frigats, by which means Ruyter was forced to leave him. They say the English have no defence on deck, but that the soldiers and marriners are compelled to stand there naked.

They speak also of the gunport holes in the English ships, that they are too narrow, by which their ordnance cannot play but forth outright; whereas on the contrary those of the Hollanders are wide and large, by which means their guns have liberty to turn more ways than one.

Two *Letters of Intelligence*, written from Holland, June 20, 1653.

John Thurloe, *Collection of State Papers* (London, 1742), I, 279-282.

De Ruyter was in command of the Dutch fleet in 1667. See No. 94.

87. The Commonwealth and Europe (1654)

. . . And in the mean time all endeavours possible were used to hinder the work of God in Ireland, and the progress of the work 'of God' in Scotland; by continual intelligences and correspondences, both at home and abroad, from hence into Ireland, and from hence into Scotland. Persons were stirred up, from our divisions, and discomposure of affairs, to do all they could to ferment the War in both these places. To add yet to our misery, whilst we were in this condition, we were in a 'foreign' War. Deeply engaged in War with the Portuguese; whereby our Trade ceased: the evil consequences by that War were manifest and very considerable. And not only this, but we had a War with Holland; consuming our treasure; occasioning a vast burden upon the people. A War that cost this Nation full as much as the 'whole' Taxes came unto; the Navy being a Hundred-and-sixty Ships, which cost this Nation above 100,000 l. a-month; besides the contingencies, which would make it 120,000 l. That very one War did engage us to so great a charge. — At the same time also we were in a War with France. The advantages that were taken of the discontents and divisions among ourselves did also ferment that War, and at least hinder us of an honourable peace; every man being confident we could not hold-out long. And surely they did not calculate amiss, if the Lord had not been exceedingly gracious to us! I say, at the same time we had a War with France. And besides the sufferings in respect to the Trade of the Nation, it's most evident that the Purse of the Nation could not have been able much longer to bear it, — by reason of the advantages taken by the other States to improve their own, and spoil our Manufacture of Cloth, and hinder the vent

By OLIVER CROMWELL.
See No. 79.
The year 1654 marks the turning-point in Cromwell's foreign policy, when the interests of this world gained the upper hand over the things of the spirit. The measures of the next few years were concerned with trade, little with religion, but they were brilliantly successful. "At the death of the Protector, England held a rank in the eyes of Europe, such as she had never reached since the days of the Plantagenets, such as she has never reached since, but in the time of Marlborough, Nelson, and Wellington." F. Harrison. This extract is from the speech which Cromwell made at the

assembling of the First Protectorate Parliament, September 4, 1654.

In 1649 the Puritan Commonwealth could count on the hostility of every important power in Europe.

War with Holland, 1652-1654.

In 1654 Whitelock negotiated a commercial treaty with Sweden.

A commercial treaty with Denmark, in 1654, opened to England the naval supplies of the Baltic states.

thereof; which is the great staple commodity of this Nation. Such was our condition: spoiled in our Trade, and we at this vast expense; thus dissettled at home, and having these engagements abroad. . . .

I did instance the Wars; which did exhaust your treasure; and put you into such a condition that you must have sunk therein, if it had continued but a few months longer: this I can affirm, if strong probability may be a fit ground. And now you have, though it be not the first in time, — Peace with Swedeland; an honourable peace; through the endeavours of an honourable Person here present as the instrument. I say you have an honourable peace with a Kingdom which not many years since, was much a friend to France, and lately perhaps inclinable enough to the Spaniard. And I believe you expect not much good from any of your Catholic neighbours; nor yet that they would be very willing you should have a good understanding with your Protestant friends. Yet, thanks be to God, that Peace is concluded; and as I said before, it is an honourable Peace.

You have a Peace with the Danes, — a State that lay contiguous to that part of this Island which hath given us the most trouble. And certainly if your enemies abroad be able to annoy you, it is likely they will take their advantage (where it best lies) to give you trouble from that country. But you have a Peace there, and an honourable one. Satisfaction to your Merchants' ships; not only to their content, but to their rejoicing. I believe you will easily know it is so, — 'an honourable peace.' You have the Sound open; which used to be obstructed. That which was and is the strength of this Nation, the Shipping, will now be supplied thence. And whereas you were glad to have anything of that kind at secondhand, you have now all manner of commerce there, and at as much freedom as the Dutch themselves, 'who used to be the carriers and

venders of it to us;' and at the same rates and tolls; — and I think, by that Peace, the said rates now fixed-upon cannot be raised to you 'in future.'

You have a Peace with the Dutch: a Peace unto which I shall say little, seeing it is so well known in the benefit and consequences thereof. And I think it was as desirable, and as acceptable to the spirit of this Nation, as any one thing that lay before us. And, as I believe nothing so much gratified our enemies as to see us at odds 'with that Commonwealth;' so I persuade myself nothing is of more terror or trouble to them than to see us thus reconciled. 'Truly' as a Peace with the Protestant States hath much security in it, so it hath as much of honour and of assurance to the Protestant Interest abroad; without which no assistance can be given thereunto. I wish it may be written upon our hearts to be zealous for that Interest! For if ever it were like to come under a condition of suffering, it is now. In all the Emperor's Patrimonial Territories, the endeavour is to drive the Protestant part of the people out, as fast as is possible; and they are necessitated to run to Protestant States to seek their bread. And by this conjunction of Interests, I hope you will be in a more fit capacity to help them. And it begets some reviving of their spirits, that you will help them as opportunity shall serve.

You have a Peace likewise with the Crown of Portugal; which Peace, though it hung long in hand, yet is lately concluded. It is a Peace which, your Merchants make us believe, is of good concernment to their trade; the rate of insurance to that Country having been higher; and so the profit which could bear such rate, than to other places. And one thing hath been obtained in this treaty, which never 'before' was, since the Inquisition was set up there: That our people which trade thither have Liberty of Conscience, — 'liberty to worship in Chapels of their own.'

Indeed, Peace is, as you were well told today, desirable

A treaty with the Dutch in 1654 secured the exclusion of the Stuarts from Holland and reparation for damages to English trade.

A treaty with Portugal opened to the English the trade of the Portuguese colonies.

with all men, as far as it may be had with conscience and honour! We are upon a Treaty with France. And we may say this, That if God give us honour in the eyes of the Nations about us, we have reason to bless Him for it, and so to own it. And I dare say that there is not a Nation in Europe but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you. . . .

Oliver Cromwell, *Speech to his First Parliament*, 1654. Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches* (edited by T. Carlyle, London, 1870), IV, 36-44.

By DANIEL 'GOOKIN, English agent, to John Thurloe, secretary of state under the Commonwealth and Protectorate.

88. A Colonial Scheme of Oliver Cromwell (1656)

Right Honorable.

Since my arrival in New England, which was the 20th of January last, I wrote two letters by way of Barbadoes, and this 3d also the same way, being destitute of a direct conveyance from hence. The sum of the 2 first were to inform your honour of my arrivall here, and of a little motion, that I had then made in his highnesse's affayres; but the sharpness of the winter prevented my travill into other colonies. But I procured a meeting of the council of this colony March the 7th, being the soonest they mett, although the governour called them a month before; but in the interval between my arival and the counsel's meeting, I endeavoured to make knowne, as far as I could, the sum of his highness desires; but their was litle done during that season, for the forementioned reson, but after the counsell of this colony mett, and I had delivered his highness letters, and declared the cause of my coming, they thankfully accepted, and readily made an order for the promotion thereof, requiring their officers to attend my motions in the publishing the same. Whereupon, I did

It was Cromwell's wish to further the interests of the Puritan colonists, and at the same time strengthen the "godly" party by transplanting them to important districts. Already he had sought to induce them to

forthwith cause a short declaration to be printed and published unto all the towns and plantations of the English, not only in this, but other colonys, (the copie of which printed paper and order I have inclosed) and together therewith I procured and imployed persons of trust in severall parts (where I could not be in person) to promote the business and take subscriptions. Shortly after this was done in mid Aprill (as soone as the waies were well passable) I tooke my journey to the colonies of Conecticut and New Haven (about 150 miles, for the most part through the woods) and unto the magistrates of those colonies declared my busines, delivering his highnes letters to Mr. Eaton, etc. They all thankfully accepted his great love, manifesting themselves very ready to further the worke in the West Indies, which they trust is of God. But as for this place of Jamaica now tendred, the minds of most were averse at present, for as much as at that very season their came divers letters from thence singnifieing the sore afflict-ing hand of God in the mortalitie of the English upon the Island, in so much that of 8000 and upward, that landed there, there was not living above one halfe; and those very weake, and lowe, and many of them dieing daily, wherein also was related the death of major general Fortescue, Mr. Gage, and divers others. These tydings are a very great discouragement unto the most and best persons, which otherwise would have ingaged to remove; only some few families have subscribed, but not considerable. If the Lord please to give the state either Hispaniola, Cuba, or any-other helthful place, I have good reason to beeleve, that sundry persons of worth, yea and some whole Churches would remove from hence into those parts. . . . For the present their are some few godly discret persons, that intend to pass theither in a ship of the states called the Hope, whereof one Martin is comander, which is now here ladeing masts for the fleet. These persons leave there familie here; and

remove to Ireland, where his arms had conquered a peace. He now strove to turn their minds toward his new conquest, the rich island of Jamaica, promising them that they should have the government in their own hands. He declared to the agent for the colonies in England that he believed that "the people of New England had as clear a call to transport themselves from thence to Jamaica, as they had from England to New England in order to the bettering their outward condition, God having promised his people should be the head, and not the tail; besides that design hath its tendency to the overturn of the man of Sin."

if it shall please God to cary them safe, and that the island be liked by them (as I hope it may) then upon their returne and inteligence, 'tis probable, that many will remove. . . . There is one thing, that I desire to mention to your honour, that is, an objection I mett with from some principal persons, that incline to transplant, and indeed the motions of such will draw or hinder many. If his highness see cause to remove it, 'tis probable it may further the work. They say, there is no incuradgment in the propositions for ministers or men of place, but what is equall with other men. Now if a minister and people remove, the people wil not be in a capacity, untill they are setled, to maintayne their ministers, for as much as they cannot cary their estates from hence, being it principally consists in land and cattle. Now if there were some annual allowance made unto such persons for a few yeares, untill the people recruite, or other waies be contrived, it would then take of that hinderance.

Thus I have, as breefly as I may, perticularly signified unto your honour, the sume of what is hetherto done. I am hartily sorry, that my service hath beene hetherunto so unprofitable to his highness and the state . . . but yet I am not out of hope, that his highness pious intentions and motions in this great worke, both in the West Indies, and elsewhere, shal be owned and crowned with the Lord's blessing in his best season. . . .

I remaine desirous to be,

sir,

his highnes and your honer's

most humble and faithful servant.

DANIEL GOOKIN.

Cambridge, in New England,

May 10th, 1656.

John Thurloe, *A Collection of State Papers* (London, 1752),
V, 6, 7.

In the end
only a few
accepted the
invitation.

89. Cromwell (1658)

He without noise still travelled to his end,
 As silent suns to meet the night descend;
 The stars that for him fought, had only power
 Left to determine now his fatal hour,
 Which since they might not hinder, yet they cast
 To choose it worthy of his glories past.
 No part of time but bare his mark away
 Of honour, — all the year was Cromwell's day;
 But this, of all the most auspicious found,
 Twice had in open field him victor crowned,
 When up the armed mountains of Dunbar
 He marched, and through deep Severn, ending war:
 What day should him eternize, but the same
 That had before immortalized his name,
 That so whoe'er would at his death have joyed,
 In their own griefs might find themselves employed,
 But those that sadly his departure grieved,
 Yet joyed, remembering what he once achieved?

* * * * *

O Cromwell! Heaven's favourite, to none,
 Have such high honours from above been shown,
 For whom the elements we mourners see,
 And Heaven itself would the great herald be,
 Which with more care set forth his obsequies
 Than those of Moses, hid from human eyes;
 As jealous only here, lest all be less
 Than we could to his memory express.

Then let us too our course of mourning keep;
 Where Heaven leads, 'tis piety to weep.
 Stand back ye seas, and shrunk beneath the veil
 Of your abyss, with covered head bewail

By ANDREW MARVELL (1621-1678), poet and satirist. His sympathies were with the parliamentary cause, and in 1657 he was appointed Milton's colleague in the Latin secretaryship. See No. 84. After the Restoration he sat in the Cavalier Parliament, but his energies were spent mainly in writing political satires, few of which were published during his lifetime.

Cromwell died on "his day of triumph, the 3d of September, the day of Dunbar and of Worcester."

Reference to the historic storm of August 30, 1658.

Your monarch: we demand not your supplies
 To compass-in our isle, — our tears suffice,
 Since him away the dismal tempest rent,
 Who once more joined us to the continent;
 Who planted England on the Flanderic shore,
 And stretched our frontier to the Indian ore;
 Whose greater truths obscure the fables old,
 Whether of British saints or worthies told,
 And in a valour lessening Arthur's deeds,
 For holiness the Confessor exceeds.

Reference to
 Dunkirk.

He first put arms into Religion's hand,
 And timorous conscience unto courage manned;
 The soldier taught that inward mail to wear,
 And fearing God, how they should nothing fear;
 Those strokes, he said, will pierce through all below,
 Where those that strike from Heaven fetch their blow.
 Astonished armies did their flight prepare,
 And cities strong were stormed by his prayer;
 Of that forever Preston's field shall tell
 The story, and impregnable Clonmel,
 And where the sandy mountain Fenwick scaled,
 The sea between, yet hence his prayer prevailed.
 What man was ever so in Heaven obeyed
 Since the commanded sun o'er Gideon stayed?
 In all his wars needs must he triumph, when
 He conquered God, still ere he fought with men:
 Hence, though in battle none so brave or fierce,
 Yet him the adverse steel could never pierce;
 Pity it seemed to hurt him more, that felt
 Each wound himself which he to others dealt,
 Danger itself refusing to offend
 So loose an enemy, so fast a friend.

Andrew Marvell, *A Poem upon the Death of his Late Highness,
 the Lord Protector. Poetical Works* (Boston, 1857), 160-163.

CHAPTER XIV—THE STUART RESTORATION

90. The Return of Charles II (1660)

[MAY] 23rd. . . . All day nothing but Lords and persons of honour on board, that we were exceedingly full. Dined in a great deal of state, the Royall company by themselves in the coach, which was a blessed sight to see. I dined with Dr. Clerke, Dr. Quarterman, and Mr. Darcy in my cabin. This morning Mr. Lucy came on board, to whom and his company of the King's Guard in another ship my Lord did give three dozen of bottles of wine. He made friends between Mr. Pierce and me. After dinner the King and Duke altered the name of some of the ships, viz. the Nazeby into Charles; the Richard, James; the Speaker, Mary; . . . That done, the Queen, Princess Royal, and Prince of Orange, took leave of the King, and the Duke of York went on board the London, and the Duke of Gloucester, the Swiftsure. Which done, we weighed anchor, and with a fresh gale and most happy weather we set sail for England. All the afternoon the King walked here and there, up and down (quite contrary to what I thought him to have been), very active and stirring. Upon the quarter-deck he fell into discourse of his escape from Worcester, where it made me ready to weep to hear the stories that he told of his difficulties that he had passed through, as his travelling four days and three nights on foot, every step up to his knees in dirt, with nothing but a green coat and a pair of country breeches on, and a pair of country shoes that made

By SAMUEL PEPYS (1633–1703), clerk in the navy office in the reign of Charles II, and secretary of the Admiralty under James II. In 1660, Pepys was appointed secretary to Sir Edward Montague on his expedition to bring about the restoration of Charles II. Thus it happened that he was one of the company that brought the young king to Dover. During the years 1659–1669 Pepys kept a diary, which is invaluable to the student of the social life and manners of the time. My Lord = Sir Edward Montague,

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later Earl of
Sandwich.

The Duke ==
the Duke of
York.

him so sore all over his feet, that he could scarce stir. Yet he was forced to run away from a miller and other company, that took them for rogues. His sitting at table at one place, where the master of the house, that had not seen him in eight years, did know him, but kept it private; when at the same table there was one that had been of his own regiment at Worcester, could not know him, but made him drink the King's health, and said that the King was at least four fingers higher than he. At another place he was by some servants of the house made to drink, that they might know him not to be a Roundhead, which they swore he was. In another place at his inn, the master of the house, as the King was standing with his hands upon the back of a chair by the fire-side, kneeled down and kissed his hand, privately, saying, that he would not ask him who he was, but bid God bless him whither he was going. Then the difficulty of getting a boat to get into France, where he was fain to plot with the master thereof to keep his design from the four men and a boy (which was all his ship's company), and so got to Fécamp in France. At Rouen he looked so poorly, that the people went into the rooms before he went away to see whether he had not stole something or other. . . .

I.e. boot hose
tops.

Hollis was
one of the
commission-
ers sent by
Parliament
to wait on
Charles II at
the Hague.
See Nos. 72
and 78.

24th. Up, and made myself as fine as I could, with the linning stockings on and wide canons that I bought the other day at Hague. Extraordinary press of noble company, and great mirth all the day. There dined with me in my cabin (that is, the carpenter's) Dr. Earle and Mr. Hollis, the King's Chaplins. . . . I was called to write a pass for my Lord Mandeville to take up horses to London, which I wrote in the King's name, and carried it to him to sign, which was the first and only one that he ever signed in the ship Charles. To bed, coming in sight of land a little before night.

25th. By the morning we were come close to the land, and every body made ready to get on shore. The King and

the two Dukes did eat their breakfast before they went, and there being set some ship's diet before them, only to show them the manner of the ship's diet, they eat of nothing else but pease and pork, and boiled beef. I had Mr. Darcy in my cabin and Dr. Clerke, who eat with me, told me how the King had given £50 to Mr. Sheply for my Lord's servants, and £500 among the officers and common men of the ship. I spoke with the Duke of York about business, who called me Pepys by name, and upon my desire did promise me his future favour. Great expectation of the King's making some Knights, but there was none. About noon (though the brigantine that Beale made was there ready to carry him) yet he would go in my Lord's barge with the two Dukes. Our Captain steered, and my Lord went along bare with him. I went, and Mr. Mansell, and one of the King's footmen, with a dog that the King loved, . . . in a boat by ourselves, and so got on shore when the King did, who was received by General Monk with all imaginable love and respect at his entrance upon the land of Dover. Infinite the crowd and the horsemen, citizens, and noblemen of all sorts. The Mayor of the town came and gave him his white staff, the badge of his place, which the King did give him again. The Mayor also presented him from the town a very rich Bible, which he took and said it was the thing that he loved above all things in the world. A canopy was provided for him to stand under, which he did, and talked awhile with General Monk and others, and so into a stately coach there set for him, and so away through the town towards Canterbury, without making any stay at Dover. The shouting and joy expressed by all is past imagination. . . .

See No. 91.

Samuel Pepys, *Diary* (edited by H. B. Wheatley, London, 1893), I, 155-162.

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91. Charles II and His Dogs (1660)

Charles II's love of dogs is well known. See No. 90. Also Rochester's satire, "His very dog at Connaught-board Sits grave and wise as any lord." *History of Insipids.*

A Smooth Black DOG, less than a Greyhound, with white under his breast, belonging to the King's Majesty, was taken from Whitehal, the eighteenth day of this instant June, or thereabout. If any one can give notice to John Ellis, one of his Majesties Servants, or to his Majesties Back-Stays, shal be well rewarded for their labour.

Mercurius Publicus, June $\frac{21}{28}$, 1660.

The first of these advertisements was probably written by the John Ellis mentioned in it, but the second shows the hand of the witty king himself.

We must call upon you again for a Black Dog between a Greyhound and a Spaniel, no white about him onely a streak on his Brest and his Tayl a little bobbed. It is His Majesties own Dog, and doubtles was stoln, for the Dog was not born nor bred in England, and would never forsake his Master. Whosoever findes him may acquaint any at Whitehal, for the Dog was better known at Court than those who stole him. Will they never leave robbing His Majesty? Must he not keep a Dog? This Dog's place (though better than some imagine) is the only place which nobody offers to beg.

Mercurius Publicus, $\frac{\text{June } 28}{\text{July } 5}$, 1660.

By GILBERT BURNET (1643-1715), a learned and broad-minded Scotch clergyman. He took an important part in the Revolution of

92. The Five Mile Act (1665)

England was at this time in a dismal state. The plague continued for the most part of the summer in and about London, and began to spread over the country. The earl of Clarendon moved the king to go to Salisbury. But the plague broke out there. So the court went to Oxford, where another session of parliament was held. And tho'

the conduct at sea was severely reflected on, yet all that was necessary for carrying on the war another year was given. The house of commons kept up the ill-humour they were in against the non-conformists very high. A great many of the ministers of London were driven away by the plague; tho' some few staid. Many churches being shut up, when the inhabitants were in a more than ordinary disposition to profit by good sermons, some of the non-conformists upon that went into the empty pulpits, and preached; and, it was given out, with very good success: and in many other places they began to preach openly, not reflecting on the sins of the court, and on the ill usage that they themselves had met with. This was represented very odiously at Oxford. So a severe bill was brought in, requiring all the silenced ministers to take an oath, declaring it was not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, and that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the government of the church or state. Such as refused this were not to come within five miles of any city, or parliament borough, or of the church where they had served. This was much opposed in both houses, but more faintly in the house of commons. The earl of Southampton spoke vehemently against it in the house of lords. He said, he could take no such oath himself: for how firm soever he had always been to the church, yet, as things were managed, he did not know but he himself might see cause to endeavour an alteration. Doctor Earl, bishop of Salisbury, died at that time. But, before his death, he declared himself much against this act. He was the man, of all the clergy, for whom the king had the greatest esteem. He had been his subtutor, and had followed him in all his exile with so clear a character, that the king could never see or hear of any one thing amiss in him. So he, who had a secret pleasure in finding out any thing that lessened a man

1688, and was rewarded with the bishopric of Salisbury. In spite of his political activity he was conscientious in the work of his office. His influence was always on the side of toleration. His most important work was the *History of his Own Times*, a candid and fairly accurate record of the period.

The Bishop of London ordered the ministers to return on pain of forfeiting their offices.

"Silenced ministers," *i.e.* those who had been driven from the church in 1662 for refusing to take the oaths required by the Act of Uniformity.

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esteemed eminent for piety, yet had a value for him beyond all the men of his order. Sheldon and Ward were the bishops that acted and argued most for this act, which came to be called the five mile act. All that were the secret favourers of popery promoted it: their constant maxim being, to bring all the sectaries into so desperate a state, that they should be at mercy, and forced to desire a toleration on such terms, as the king should think fit to grant it on. . . . The act pass'd: and the non-conformists were put to great straits. They had no mind to take the oath. And they scarce knew how to dispose of themselves according to the terms of the act. Some moderate men took pains to persuade them to take the oath. It was said by "endeavour," was only meant an unlawful endeavour; and that it was so declared in the debates of both houses. Some judges did on the bench expound it in that sense. Yet few of them took it. Many more refused it, who were put to hard shifts to live, being so far separated from the places from which they drew their chief subsistence. Yet as all this severity in a time of war, and of such a publick calamity, drew very hard censures on the promoters of it, so it raised the compassions of their party so much, that I have been told they were supplied more plentifully at that time than ever. . . .

Gilbert Burnet, *History of his Own Times* (London, 1809), I, 314-317.

93. The Great Fire (1666)

[September] 2d (Lord's day.). Some of our mayds sitting up late last night to get things ready against our feast to-day, Jane called us up about three in the morning, to tell us of a great fire they saw in the City. So I rose and slipped on my night-gowne, and went to her window; and

By SAMUEL
PEPYS.
See No. 90.
"The ruins
of the city
were 436
acres (viz.
373 within
the walls,
and 63 with-

thought it to be on the back-side of Marke-lane at the farthest; but, being unused to such fires as followed, I thought it far enough off; and so went to bed again, and to sleep. About seven rose again to dress myself, and there looked out at the window, and saw the fire not so much as it was and further off. So to my closett to set things to rights after yesterday's cleaning. By and by Jane comes and tells me that she hears that above 300 houses have been burned down to-night by the fire we saw, and that it is now burning down all Fish-street, by London Bridge. So I made myself ready presently, and walked to the Tower, and there got up upon one of the high places, Sir J. Robinson's little son going up with me; and there I did see the houses at that end of the bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side the end of the bridge; which, among other people, did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the bridge. So down, with my heart full of trouble, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it begun this morning in the King's baker's house in Pudding-lane, and that it hath burned St. Magnus' Church and most part of Fish-street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house, as far as the Old Swan, already burned that way, and the fire running further, that in a very little time it got as far as the Steele-yard, while I was there. Everybody endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river or bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one pair of stairs by the waterside to another. And, among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceive, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconys, till they were, some of them burned, their wings, and fell down. Having staid, and in an hour's time seen the

out them, but within the liberties); of the six and twenty wards it utterly destroyed fifteen, and left eight others shattered and half burnt; it consumed eighty-nine churches, four of the city gates, Guildhall, many public structures, hospitals, schools, libraries, a great number of stately edifices, 13,200 dwelling-houses, and 460 streets." From the inscription on a monument erected in 1671 near Pudding Lane, to commemorate the fire. — On the fire, see J. Evelyn, *Diary*.

fire rage every way; and nobody, to my sight, endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods, and leave all to the fire; and having seen it get as far as the Steele-yard, and the wind mighty high and driving it into the City; and everything after so long a drought, proving combustible, even the very stones of churches; . . . I to White Hall with a gentleman with me (who desired to go off from the Tower, to see the fire, in my boat); to White Hall, and there up to the King's closett in the Chappell, where people come about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and word was carried in to the King. So I was called for, and did tell the King and Duke of Yorke what I saw, and that unless his Majesty did command houses to be pulled down, nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor from him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way. The Duke of York bid me tell him, that if he would have any more soldiers he shall; and so did my Lord Arlington afterwards, as a great secret. Here meeting with Captain Cocke, I in his coach, which he lent me, and Creed with me to Paul's, and there walked along Watling-street, as well as I could, every creature coming away loaden with goods to save, and here and there, sicke people carried away in beds. Extraordinary good goods carried in carts and on backs. At last met my Lord Mayor in Canning-street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message, he cried, like a fainting woman, "Lord! what can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses, but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it." That he needed no more soldiers; and that, for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night. So he left me, and I him, and walked home, seeing people all almost distracted, and no manner of means used to quench the fire. The houses, too, so very thick thereabouts, and

"It is not, indeed, imaginable how extraordinary the vigilance and activity of the King and Duke was, even labouring in person." Evelyn.

Sir Thomas Bludworth.

full of matter for burning, as pitch and tarr, in Thames-street; and warehouses of oyle, and wines, and brandy, and other things. . . . By this time it was about twelve o'clock; and so home, and there find my guests, which was Mr. Wood and his wife Barbary Shelden, and also Mr. Moone: she mighty fine, and her husband, for aught I see, a likely man. But Mr. Moone's design and mine, which was to look over my closett, and please him with the sight thereof, which he hath long desired, was wholly disappointed; for we were in great trouble and disturbance at this fire, not knowing what to think of it. However, we had an extraordinary good dinner, and as merry as at this time we could be. While at dinner Mrs. Batelier come to enquire after Mr. Woolfe and Stanes (who, it seems, are related to them), whose houses in Fish-street are all burned, and they in a sad condition. She would not stay in the fright. Soon as dined, I and Moone away, and walked through the City, the streets full of nothing but people and horses and carts loaden with goods, ready to run over one another, and removing goods from one burned house to another. They now removing out of Canning-streete (which received goods in the morning) into Lombard-streete, and further, and, among others I now saw my little goldsmith, Stokes receiving some friend's goods, whose house itself was burned the day after. We parted at Paul's; he home, and I to Paul's Wharf, where I had appointed a boat to attend me, and took in Mr. Carcasse and his brother, whom I met in the streete, and carried them below and above bridge to and again to see the fire, which was now got further, both below and above, and no likelihood of stopping it. Met with the King and Duke of York in their barge, and with them to Queenhithe, and there called Sir Richard Browne to them. Their order was only to pull down houses apace, and so below bridge at the water-side; but little was or could be done, the fire coming upon them

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so fast. Good hopes there was of stopping it at the Three Cranes above, and at Buttolph's Wharf below bridge, if care be used; but the wind carries it into the City, so as we know not by the water-side what it do there. River full of lighters and boats taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water, and only I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of Virginalls in it.

Samuel Pepys, *Diary* (edited by H. B. Wheatley, London, 1895), 5, 417-421.

A musical instrument, similar to a spinet. It is supposed to have gained its name from the fact that young women played it.

94. The Dutch in the Thames (1667)

June 8. To London, alarm'd by the Dutch, who were fallen on our fleete at Chatham, by a most audacious enterprise entering the very river with part of their fleete, doing us not only disgrace, but incredible mischief in burning severall of our best men of warr lying at anker and moor'd there, and all this thro' our unaccountable negligence in not setting out our fleete in due time. This alarms caus'd me, fearing y^e enemie might venture up y^e Thames even to London, (which they might have don with ease, and fir'd all y^e vessells in y^e river to,) to send away my best goods, plate, &c. from my house to another place. The alarme was so greate that it put both Country and Citty into panique, feare and consternation, such as I hope I shall never see more; every body was flying, none knew why or whither. Now there were land forces dispatch'd with the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Middleton, Prince Rupert, and the Duke, to hinder y^e Dutch coming to Chatham, fortifying Upnor Castle, and laying chaines and booms; but y^e resolute enemy brake through all, and set fire on our ships, and

By JOHN EVELYN (1620-1706), a gentleman of literary and scientific tastes, and a friend of Pepys. See No. 90. He was royalist in his opinions, and enjoyed the favour of the court. In 1671 he was appointed a member of the council for foreign plantations. As a staunch churchman he was opposed to the religious policy of James II. His *Diary*, covering the years from 1641 to 1706,

The Dutch in the Thames 275

retreated in spight, stopping up the Thames, the rest of their fleete lying before the mouth of it.

June 14. I went to see the work at Woolwich, a battery to prevent them coming up to London, which Pr. Rupert commanded, and sunk some ships in the river.

June 17. This night about 2 o'clock some chipps and combustible matter prepar'd for some fire-ships taking flame in Deptford yard, made such a blaze, and caus'd such an uproar in y^e Tower, it being given out that the Dutch fleete was come up and had landed their men and fir'd the Tower, as had like to have don more mischief before people would be persuaded to the contrary and believe the accident. Every body went to their arms. These were sad and troublesome times!

June 24. The Dutch fleet still continuing to stop up the river, so as nothing could stir out or come in, I was before y^e Council, and commanded by his Ma^{ty} to go with some others and search about the environs of the citty, now exceedingly distress'd for want of fuell, whether there could be any peate or turfe found fit for use. The next day I went and discover'd enough, and made my report that there might be found a greate deale; but nothing further was don in it.

June 28. I went to Chatham, and thence to view not onely what mischief the Dutch had don, but how triumphantly their whole fleete lay within the very mouth of Thames, all from y^e North fore-land, Margate, even to y^e buoy of the Nore — a dreadful spectacle as ever Englishmen saw, and a dishonour never be wip'd off! Those who advis'd his Ma^{ty} to prepare no fleete this spring deserv'd — I know what — but —

throws much light on the period.

The Duke, *i.e.* the Duke of York, who, both as Lord Admiral and as King, displayed keen interest in naval affairs. He was excluded from office by the Test Act of 1673.

This affair was one of the most disgraceful consequences of the corruption and mismanagement in public affairs in the reign of Charles II.

John Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence* (edited by W. Bray, London, 1827), II, 287-289.

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95. Parliament and the Catholics (1673)

By the so-called CAVALLIER PARLIAMENT (1661-1679). As a result of his alliance with Louis XIV of France, Charles II, in 1672, issued a Declaration of Indulgence suspending the penal statutes against Nonconformists and Catholics, and declared war against Holland. In the following February Parliament met after an intermission of two years, and at once proceeded to resolve that the penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical could not be suspended save by a vote of both Houses. It also drew up the following address to the king. Charles gave way on every point, but Parliament, hoping to make secure what had been gained, passed the

1673. March 7. Both Houses agreed to the following Address to his majesty:—Most gracious sovereign; we your majesty's most loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, being very sensible of the great dangers and mischiefs that may arise within this your majesty's realm by the increase of Popish Recusants amongst us; and considering the great resort of Priests and Jesuits into this kingdom who daily endeavour to seduce your majesty's subjects from their religion and allegiance; and how desirous your loyal subjects are that no Popish Recusants be admitted into employments of trust and profit and especially into military commands over the forces now in your majesty's service, and having a tender regard to the preservation of your majesty's person, and the peace and tranquillity of this kingdom, do in all humility desire:

1. That your majesty would be pleased to issue out your royal Proclamation to command all Priests and Jesuits (other than such as, not being natural born subjects to your majesty, are obliged to attend upon your royal consort the queen) to depart within 30 days out of this your majesty's kingdom; and that if any Priest or Jesuit shall happen to be taken in England after the expiration of the said time, that the laws be put in due execution against them; and that your majesty would please, in the said Proclamation, to command all judges, justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other officers to put the said laws in execution accordingly.

2. That your majesty would likewise be pleased that the lord chancellor of England shall, on or before the 25th of March inst., issue out commissions of *Dedimus Potestatem* to the Judge Advocate and Commissaries of the Musters, and such other persons as he shall think fit (not being

officers commanding soldiers) to tender the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to all officers and soldiers now in your majesty's service and pay, and that such as refuse the said oaths may be immediately disbanded, and not allowed or continued in any pay or pension; and that the chancellor shall require due returns to be made thereof within some convenient time after the issuing out of the said commissions.

Test Act,
repealed
1828.

3. That the said Commissaries of the Musters be commanded and enjoined by your majesty's warrant, upon penalty of losing their places, not to permit any officer to be mustered in the service and pay of your majesty till he shall have taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the laws and usage of the Church of England; and that every soldier serving at land shall take the said Oaths before his first muster and receive the Sacrament in such manner before his second muster, — And this we present in all dutifulness to your majesty's princely wisdom and consideration, as the best means for the satisfying and composing the minds of your loyal subjects; humbly desiring your majesty graciously to accept of this our petition, as proceeding from hearts and affections entirely devoted to your majesty's service, and to give it your royal approbation.

Address of Both Houses against the Growth of Popery. Cobbett, *Parliamentary History* (London, 1808), IV, 559.

96. The Whigs and the Exclusion Bill (1680)

The Jews, a headstrong, moody, murmuring race
As ever tried the extent and stretch of grace;
God's pamper'd people, whom, debauch'd with ease

By JOHN
DRYDEN
(1631-1700),
dramatist
and satirist.
In the political
contests
of the reigns
of Charles II

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and James II
Dryden's
sympathies
were with the
Court party,
and his pen
was at its
service.

This extract
is taken from
Dryden's
most famous
satire, which
appeared at
a critical mo-
ment in the
struggle
between
Charles II
and the
Whigs.

The Jews =
the English.

Adam-wits =
wits, who,
like Adam,
chafed under
slight restric-
tion.

Saul =
Oliver
Cromwell.

Ishbosheth
= Richard
Cromwell.

Hebron =
Scotland,
perhaps
refers to the
fact that
Charles was
already
crowned
King of Scot-
land at the
time of the
Restoration.

No king could govern nor no God could please;
(Gods they had tried of every shape and size
That godsmiths could produce or priests devise);

50

These Adam-wits, too fortunately free,
Began to dream they wanted liberty;
And when no rule, no precedent was found
Of men by laws less circumscribed and bound,
They led their wild desires to woods and caves
And thought that all but savages were slaves.
They who, when Saul was dead, without a blow
Made foolish Ishbosheth the crown forego;
Who banish'd David did from Hebron bring,
And with a general shout proclaim'd him King;

60

Those very Jews who at their very best
Their humour more than loyalty exprest,
Now wonder'd why so long they had obey'd
An idol monarch which their hands had made;
Thought they might ruin him they could create
Or melt him to that golden calf — a State.

But these were random bolts; no form'd design
Nor interest made the factious crowd to join:

The sober part of Israel, free from stain,
Well knew the value of a peaceful reign;
And looking backward with a wise affright

70

Saw seams of wounds dishonest to the sight,
In contemplation of whose ugly scars
They cursed the memory of civil wars.

The moderate sort of men, thus qualified,
Inclined the balance to the better side;
And David's mildness managed it so well,
The bad found no occasion to rebel.

But when to sin our biass'd nature leans,
The careful Devil is still at hand with means
And providently pimps for ill desires:

80

The good old cause, revived, a plot requires,

Plots, true or false, are necessary things,
To raise up commonwealths and ruin kings.

The inhabitants of old Jerusalem
Were Jebusites; the town so call'd from them,
And theirs the native right —
But when the chosen people grew more strong,
The rightful cause at length became the wrong;
And every loss the men of Jebus bore,
They still were thought God's enemies the more.
Thus worn and weaken'd, well or ill content,
Submit they must to David's government:
Impoverish'd and deprived of all command,
Their taxes doubled as they lost their land;
And, what was harder yet to flesh and blood,
Their gods disgraced, and burnt like common wood.
This set the heathen priesthood in a flame,
For priests of all religions are the same.
Of whatsoe'er descent their godhead be,
Stock, stone, or other homely pedigree,
In his defence his servants are as bold,
As if he had been born of beaten gold.
The Jewish Rabbins, though their enemies,
In this conclude them honest men and wise:
For 'twas their duty, all the learned think,
To espouse his cause by whom they eat and drink.
From hence began that Plot, the nation's curse,
Bad in itself, but represented worse,
Raised in extremes, and in extremes decried,
With oaths affirm'd, with dying vows denied,
Not weigh'd or winnow'd by the multitude,
But swallow'd in the mass, unchew'd and crude.
Some truth there was, but dash'd and brew'd with lies
To please the fools and puzzle all the wise:
Succeeding times did equal folly call

Jebusites =
Roman
Catholics.

90

An allusion
to the de-
struction of
images and
relics at the
100 Reformation.

The Popish
Plot.

110

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Believing nothing or believing all.
 The Egyptian rites the Jebusites embraced,
 Where gods were recommended by their taste;
 Such savoury deities must needs be good 120
 As served at once for worship and for food,
 By force they could not introduce these gods,
 For ten to one in former days was odds:
 So fraud was used, the sacrificer's trade;
 Fools are more hard to conquer than persuade.
 Their busy teachers mingled with the Jews
 And raked for converts even the court and stews:
 Which Hebrew priests the more unkindly took,
 Because the fleece accompanies the flock.
 Some thought they God's anointed meant to slay 130
 By guns, invented since full many a day:
 Our author swears it not; but who can know
 How far the Devil and Jebusites may go?
 This plot, which fail'd for want of common sense,
 Had yet a deep and dangerous consequence;
 For as, when raging fevers boil the blood,
 The standing lake soon floats into a flood,
 And every hostile humour which before
 Slept quiet in its channels bubbles o'er;
 So several factions from this first ferment 140
 Work up to foam and threat the government.
 Some by their friends, more by themselves thought wise,
 Opposed the power to which they could not rise.
 Some had in courts been great and, thrown from thence,
 Like fiends were harden'd in impenitence.
 Some by their Monarch's fatal mercy grown
 From pardon'd rebels kinsmen to the throne
 Were raised in power and public office high;
 Strong bands, if bands ungrateful men could tie.
 Of these the false Achitophel was first, 150
 A name to all succeeding ages curst:

Shaftesbury
and his con-
federates.

Achitophel
= Shaftes-
bury.

For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
 Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit,
 Restless, unfix'd in principles and place,
 In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace;
 A fiery soul, which working out its way,
 Fretted the pigmy body to decay
 And o'er-inform'd the tenement of clay.
 A daring pilot in extremity,
 Pleased with the danger, when the waves went high, 160
 He sought the storms; but, for a calm unfit,
 Would steer too nigh the sands to boast his wit.

* * * * *

In friendship false, implacable in hate,
 Resolved to ruin or to rule the state;
 To compass this the triple bond he broke,
 The pillars of the public safety shook,
 And fitted Israel for a foreign yoke;
 Then, seized with fear, yet still affecting fame,
 Usurp'd a patriot's all-atoning name.
 So easy still it proves in factious times
 With public zeal to cancel private crimes.
 How safe is treason and how sacred ill,
 Where none can sin against the people's will,
 Where crowds can wink and no offence be known,
 Since in another's guilt they find their own!
 Yet fame deserved no enemy can grudge;
 The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge.
 In Israel's courts ne'er sat an Abbethdin
 With more discerning eyes or hands more clean,
 Unbribed, unsought, the wretched to redress,
 Swift of despatch and easy of access.
 Oh! had he been content to serve the crown
 With virtues only proper to the gown,
 Or had the rankness of the soil been freed
 From cockle that oppress'd the noble seed,

The Triple
 Alliance.

180 "A foreign
 yoke" =
 reference to
 the Treaty of
 Dover.
 Probably not
 a just charge.

190 Abbethdin =
 "president of
 the Jewish
 Judicature."
 Christie.

Shaftesbury
 was Lord
 Chancellor,
 1672-1673.

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David for him his tuneful harp had strung
And Heaven had wanted one immortal song.
But wild ambition loves to slide, not stand,
And Fortune's ice prefers to Virtue's land.
Achitophel, grown weary to possess 200
A lawful fame and lazy happiness,
Disdain'd the golden fruit to gather free
And lent the crowd his arm to shake the tree.
Now, manifest of crimes contrived long since,
He stood at bold defiance with his Prince,
Held up the buckler of the people's cause
Against the crown, and skulk'd behind the laws.
The wished occasion of the Plot he takes;
Some circumstances finds, but more he makes ;
By buzzing emissaries fills the ears 210
Of listening crowds with jealousies and fears
Of arbitrary counsels brought to light,
And proves the King himself a Jebusite.
Weak arguments! which yet he knew full well
Were strong with people easy to rebel.
For govern'd by the moon, the giddy Jews
Tread the same track when she the prime renews:
And once in twenty years their scribes record,
By natural instinct they change their lord.
Achitophel still wants a chief, and none 220
Was found so fit as warlike Absalom.
Not that he wished his greatness to create,
For politicians neither love nor hate:
But, for he knew his title not allow'd
Would keep him still depending on the crowd,
That kingly power, thus ebbing out, might be
Drawn to the dregs of a democracy.

Absalom =
Duke of
Monmouth.

John Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*. *Poetical Works* (edited
by G. Gilfillan, Edinburgh, 1855), 1, 96-102.

97. A Record of the Popish Panic (1681)

"This Pillar was set vp in Perpetvall Remembrance of that most dreadful burning of this Protestant city, begun and carryed on by ye treachery and malice of ye Popish factiō, in ye beginning of Septem. in ye year of our Lord 1666, in order to ye carrying on their horrid Plott for extirpating the Protestant Religion and old English Liberty, and the introducing Popery and Slavery."

In 1671 a monument in commemoration of the great fire in London in 1666 was erected near Pudding Lane, where the fire began. In 1681 the accompanying inscription was added. "It was obliterated in the reign of James II, recut deeper than before in the reign of William III, and finally erased in 1831." H. Wheatley, *London, Past and Present*.

CHAPTER XV—THE REVOLUTION

98. Petition of the Seven Bishops (1688)

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Petition of William Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and divers of the Suffragan Bishops of that Province, (now present with him) in behalf of themselves, and others of their absent Brethren, and of the Clergy of their respective Diocesses.

Humbly sheweth,

That the great averseness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their Churches your Majesty's late Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, proceeds neither from any want of Duty and Obedience to your Majesty, (our Holy Mother the Church of England, being both in her Principles and in her constant Practice unquestionably Loyal; and having, to her great Honour, been more than once publicly acknowledg'd to be so by your Gracious Majesty;) Nor yet from any want of due tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom they are willing to come to such a Temper as shall be thought fit, when that Matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation. But among many other Considerations, from this especially, because that Declaration is founded upon such a Dispensing Power as has been often declared Illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the Years 1662, and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's Reign; and is a Matter of so great Moment and Consequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, that your Peti-

In April, 1688, James II issued a second Declaration of Indulgence, following it with the command that it should be read in the course of divine service on two successive Sundays in every parish in the kingdom. The clergy were in sore straits between the law of Parliament on the one hand, and their cherished doctrine of non-resistance on the other. Finally, on May 18, two days before the first Sunday named in the royal decree, some of the leading clergy met with the Primate to take counsel. The result of the conference was this petition

Trial of the Seven Bishops 285

tioners cannot in Prudence, Honour, or Conscience, so far make themselves Parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the Nation, and the solemn publication of it once and again, even in God's House, and in the Time of his Divine Service, must amount to in common and reasonable Construction.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased, not to insist upon their distributing and reading your Majesty's said Declaration.

And Your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, shall ever pray.

WILL. CANT.

THO. BATHON. & WELLEN.

WILL. ASAPH.

THO. PETERBURGEN.

FR. ELY.

JONATH. BRISTOL.

JO. CICESTR.

which was presented to the king that evening, and by midnight was in print and hawked about the streets. — On the trial of the bishops, see No. 99, and Macaulay, *History of England*.

The Humble Petition of Seven Bishops to his Majesty. A Collection of Papers relating to the Present Juncture of Affairs in England (London, 1688), No. 1.

99. The Trial of the Seven Bishops (1688)

By JOHN
EVELYN.
See No. 94.

18 April. The King injoyning the ministers to read his Declaration for giving liberty of conscience (as it was styl'd) in all the churches of England, this evening, 6 Bishops, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Ely, Chichester, St. Asaph, and Bristol, in the name of ail the rest of the Bishops, came to his Ma^{ty} to petition him, that he would not impose the reading of it to the several congregations within their dioceses; not that they were averse to

the publishing it for want of due tendernesse towards Dis-senters, in relation to whom they should be willing to come to such a temper as should be thought fit, when that matter might be consider'd and settl'd in Parliament and Convocation; but that, the Declaration being founded on such a dispensing power as might at pleasure set aside all laws ecclesiastical and civil, it appear'd to them illegal, as it had done to the Parliament in 1661 and 1672, and that it was a point of such consequence, that they could not so far make themselves parties to it, as the reading of it in church in time of divine service amounted to.

The king called the petition a "standard of rebellion," and the bishops, "trumpeters of sedition."

At Westminster the congregation withdrew when the Bishop of Rochester began to read.

In four only of the London churches was the Declaration read.

The King was so far incens'd at this addresse, that he with threatening expressions commanded them to obey him in reading it at their perils, and so dismiss'd them.

20. I went to White-hall Chapell, where, after the morning Lessons, the Declaration was read by one of y^e Choir who us'd to read the chapters. I heare it was in the Abby Church, Westminster, but almost universally forborne throughout all London: the consequences of which a little time will shew.

25. All the discourse now was about the Bishops refusing to read y^e injunction for y^e abolition of the Test, &c. It seemes the injunction came so crudely from the Secretary's office, that it was neither seal'd nor sign'd in forme, nor had any lawyer ben consulted, so as the Bishops, who took all imaginable advice, put the Court to greate difficulties how to proceede against them. Greate were the consults, and a proclamation expected all this day; but nothing was don. The action of the Bishops was universally applauded, and reconcil'd many adverse parties. Papists only excepted, who were now exceedingly perplex'd, and violent courses were every moment expected. Report was, that the Protestant secular Lords and Nobility would abett the Clergy. . . .

8 June. This day the Archbishop of Canterbury, with

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the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, St. Asaph, Bristol, Peterborough, and Bath and Wells, were sent from the Privy Council prisoners to the Tower, for refusing to give baile for their appearance, on their not reading the declaration for liberty of conscience; they refus'd to give baile, as it would have prejudiced their peerage. The concern of the people for them was wonderfull, infinite crouds on their knees begging their blessing, and praying for them, as they pass'd out of the barge along the Tower-wharfe.

10. A young Prince borne, which will cause disputes. . . .

13. I went to the Tower to see the Bishops, visited the Abp. and Bps. of Ely, St. Asaph, and Bath and Wells.

14. Din'd with my Lord Chancellor.

15. Being the first day of Term, the Bishops were brought to Westminster on Habeas Corpus, when the indictment was read, and they were called on to plead; their Counsel objected that the warrant was illegal; but, after long debate, it was over-ruled, and they pleaded.

The Court then offered to take bail for their appearance; but this they refused, and at last were dismissed on their own recognizances to appear that day fortnight; the Abp. in £200, the Bishops £100 each. . . .

29. They appeared; the trial lasted from 9 in the morning to past 6 in the evening, when the Jury retired to consider of their verdict, and the Court adjourned to 9 the next morning. The Jury wêre locked up till that time, 11 of them being for an acquittal; but one (Arnold a brewer) would not consent. At length he agreed with the others. The Cheif Justice Wright, behaved with great moderation and civility to the Bishops. Alibone, a Papist, was strongly against them; but Holloway and Powell, being of opinion in their favour, they were acquitted. When this was heard, there was great rejoicing; and there was a lane of people from the King's Bench to

By the advice of Jeffreys they were prosecuted for seditious libel.

It was a peer's privilege not to be required to give bail in a case of libel.

James, known later as the Old Pretender, died 1765.

Term = term of the law courts.

the waterside, on their knees, as the Bishops pass'd and repass'd, to beg their blessing. Bonfires were made that night, and bells rung, which was taken very ill at Court, and an appearance of neere 60 Earls and Lords, &c. on the bench, did not a little comfort them; but indeede they were all along full of comfort and cheerfull.

Sir Edward
Hales, a
Roman
Catholic,
holding office
by royal dis-
pensation.

Note, they denied to pay the Lieut^t of the Tower (Hales, who us'd them very surlily) any fees, alleaging that none were due.

The night was solemniz'd with bonfires, and other fire-works, &c.

2 July. The two Judges, Holloway and Powell, were displaced.

John Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence* (London, 1827), III, 241-246.

By JOHN,
BARON
CHURCHILL,
and later
successively
EARL and
DUKE OF
MARLBOR-
OUGH (1650-
1722).
Churchill
was one
of the great-
est of English
generals, his
success in
war was un-
broken, but
he seemed
incapable of
loyalty. As
a boy he en-
tered the
service of the
Duke of
York, later
James II,

100. A Farewell Letter to the King (1688)

Sir,

Since Men are seldom suspected of Sincerity, when they act contrary to their Interests; and though my dutiful Behaviour to your Majesty in the worst of Times, (for which I acknowledge my poor Services much over-paid) may not be sufficient to incline You to a charitable Interpretation of my Actions; yet I hope, the great Advantage I enjoy under Your Majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of Government, may reasonably convince Your Majesty, and the World, that I am acted by a higher Principle, when I offer that violence to my Inclination and Interest, as to desert Your Majesty at a time when your Affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all Your Subjects, much more from one who lies under the greatest personal Obligations imaginable to Your Majesty. This Sir, could proceed from

A Declaration of Rebellion 289

nothing but the inviolable Dictates of my CONSCIENCE, and necessary concern for my RELIGION (which no good Man can oppose) and with which I am instructed nothing ought to come in Competition; Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful Opinion of Your Majesty hath hitherto represented those unhappy Designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested Men have framed against Your Majesties true Interest and the Protestant Religion. But as I can no longer join with such to give a pretence by Conquest to bring them to effect, so will I always with the hazard of my Life and Fortune (so much Your Majesty's due) endeavour to preserve Your Royal Person and Lawful Rights, with all the tender Concern and dutiful Respect that becomes,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most dutiful and most obliged

Subject and Servant,

John Churchill.

A Collection of Papers Relating to the Present Juncture of Affairs in England (London, 1688), No. 12.

101. A Declaration of Rebellion (1688)

We the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of these Northern Counties assembled together at *Nottingham*, for the defence of the Laws, Religion, and Properties, according to those free-born Liberties and Privileges, descended to us from our Ancestors, as the undoubted Birth-right of the Subjects of this Kingdom of *England*, (not doubting but the Infringers and Invaders of our Rights will represent us to the rest of the Nation in the most malicious dress they can put upon us) do here unanimously think it our Duty to declare to the rest of our Protestant Fellow-Subjects the Grounds of our present Undertaking.

and enjoyed his unvarying favour and confidence, but he was one of the first to approach the Prince of Orange. For his share in bringing about the Revolution he was made Earl of Marlborough.

William of Orange landed at Torbay, in Devon, on the 7th of November, 1688. The country rallied slowly to his support. Nottingham was the headquarters of the northern rebellion against James, and here, on November

22, the following declaration was published.— Compare with the Bill of Rights, *Old South Leaflets*, No. 19.

We are by innumerable Grievances made sensible, that the very Fundamentals of our Religion, Liberties, and Properties are about to be rooted out by our late Jesuitical Privy-Council, as hath been of late too apparent. 1. By the King's dispensing with all the Establish'd Laws at his pleasure. 2. By displacing all Officers out of all Offices of Trust and Advantage, and placing others in their room that are known Papists, deservedly made incapable by the Establish'd Laws of our Land. 3. By destroying the Charters of most Corporations in the Land. 4. By discouraging all persons that are not Papists, preferring such as turn to Popery. 5. By displacing all honest and conscientious Judges, unless they would, contrary to their Consciences, declare that to be Law which was meerly arbitrary. 6. By branding all Men with the name of Rebels that but offered to justify the Laws in a legal Course against the arbitrary proceedings of the King, or any of his corrupt Ministers. 7. By burthening the Nation with an Army, to maintain the violation of the Rights of the Subjects. 8. By discountenancing the Establish'd Reformed Religion. 9. By forbidding the Subjects the benefit of Petitioning, and construing them Libellers; so rendring the Laws a Nose of Wax, to serve their arbitrary Ends. And many more such like, too long here to enumerate.

We being thus made sadly sensible of the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government that is by the Influence of Jesuitical Counsels coming upon us, do unanimously declare, That not being willing to deliver our Posterity over to such a condition of Popery and Slavery, as the aforesaid Oppressions inevitably threaten; we will, to the utmost of our Power, oppose the same, by joining with the Prince of *Orange* (whom we hope God Almighty hath sent to rescue us from the Oppressions aforesaid) will use our utmost Endeavours for the recovery of our almost ruin'd Laws, Liberties, and Religion; and herein we hope all good

A Declaration of Rebellion 291

Protestant Subjects will with their Lives and Fortunes be assistant to us, and not be bugbear'd with the opprobrious Terms of *Rebels*, by which they would fright us, to become perfect Slaves to their tyrannical Insolencies and Usurpations; for we assure ourselves, that no rational and unbiassed Person will judg it Rebellion to defend our Laws and Religion, which all our Princes have sworn at their Coronations: Which Oath, how well it hath been observed of late, we desire a *Free Parliament* may have the consideration of.

We own it Rebellion to resist a King that governs by Law, but he was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will the Law; and to resist such an one, we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence; and in this Consideration we doubt not of all honest Mens Assistance and humbly hope for, and implore the great God's Protection, that turneth the hearts of his People as pleaseth him best; it having been observed, That People can never be of one mind without his Inspiration, which hath in all Ages confirmed that Observation, *Vox Populi est Vox Dei*.

The present restoring of Charters, and reversing the oppressing and unjust Judgment given on *Magdalen Colledge* Fellows, is plain, are but to still the people, like Plums to Children, by deceiving them for a while; but if they shall by this Stratagem be fooled, till this present storm that threatens the Papists, be past, assoon as they shall be resettled, the former Oppression will be put on with greater vigour: but we hope in vain is the Net spread in the sight of the Birds; For (1.) The Papists old Rule is, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*, as they term Protestants, tho' the Popish Religion is the greatest Heresy. And (2.) Queen *Mary's* so ill observing her promises to the *Suffolk-men* that help'd her to her throne. And above all, (3) The Popes dispensing with the breach of Oaths, Treaties, or Promises at his pleasure, when it makes for the

service of Holy Church, as they term it. These, we say, are such convincing Reasons to hinder us from giving Credit to the aforesaid *Mock-Shews* of Redress, that we think our selves bound in Conscience to rest on no Security that shall not be approved by a freely elected Parliament, to whom under God, we refer our Cause.

A Declaration of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty at the Rendezvous at Nottingham, Nov. 22, 1688, A Second Collection of Papers relating to the Present Juncture of Affairs in England (London, 1688), No. 5.

102. The Massacre of Glencoe (1692)

Edinburgh, April. 20th. 1692.

ANONY-
MOUS. At
the time of
the Revolution the
Highland
clans were
generally
supporters of the Stuart
cause, but
gradually
they were
forced to
make terms
with the gov-
ernment.
December
31, 1691, was
set as the
last day on
which their
oaths to Will-
iam would
be accepted.
Mac Ian
Glencoe,
head of a
small clan,
took pride in
coming at
the last mo-
ment, and
unfortunately
presented

Sir,

The Account you desir'd of that strange and surprizing Massacre of *Glenco* take as follows : —

Mac-jan Mac-donald, Laird of *Glenco*, a Branch of the *Mackdonalds*, one of the greatest Clans (or Tribes) in the North of *Scotland*, came with the most considerable Men of his Clan to *Coll. Hill*, Governour of *Fort William* at *Inverlochy*, some few days before the Expiring of the time for receiving the Indemnity appointed by Proclamation, which as I take it, was the First of *January* last, entreating he would administer unto him the *Oaths* which the foresaid Proclamation requir'd to be taken ; that so submitting himself to the Government, he might have its Protection. The Colonel receiv'd him with all Expressions of Kindness ; nevertheless shifted the administring the *Oaths* to him, alledging that by the Proclamation it did not belong to him, but to the Sheriffs, Bailiffs of Regalities, and Magistrates of Burghs, to administer them. *Mac-jan* Complaining that by this *Disappointment* he might be wrong'd, the Time being

now near the Expiring, and the Weather so extreme, and the ways so very bad, that it was not possible for him so soon to reach any Sheriff, &c. got from Coll. *Hill*, under his Hand, his Protection; and withal he was assur'd, that no Orders from the Government against him should be put in Execution, until he were first advertis'd, and had time allow'd him to apply himself to King or Council for his Safety. But the better to make all sure, (tho' this might have seem'd Security enough for that time) with all dispatch imaginable he posted to *Inverary*, the Chief Town of *Argyle-shire*, there he found Sir *Collin Campbell* of *Arakinlis*, Sheriff of that Shire, and crav'd of him the Benefit of the Indemnity, according to the Proclamation, he being willing to perform all the Conditions requir'd. Sir *Collin* at first scrupled to admit him to the Oaths, the Time which the Proclamation did appoint being elapsed by one day, alledging it would be of no use to him then to take them: But *Mac-jan* represented that it was not his Fault, he having come in time enough to Colonel *Hill*, not doubting but he could have administred the Oaths to him, and that upon his refusal he had made such hast to *Inverary*, that he might have come in time enough, had not the extremity of the Weather hinder'd him; and even as it was, he was but one day after the Time appointed; and that would be very unbecoming the Government to take Advantage of a Man's coming late by one Day, especially when he had done his utmost to have come in time. Upon this, and his threatening to protest against the Sheriff for the Severity of this Usage, he administred to him and his Attendants the Oaths, *Mac-jan* depending upon the Indemnity granted to those who should take them; and having so done, he went home, and lived quietly and peaceably under the Government, till the day of his Death.

In *January* last, a Party of the Earl of *Argile's* Regiment came to that Country: the Design of their coming was then

himself to one who had no authority to receive his oath. Hence he was at the mercy of the government. The King's agents in Scotland thought this a good opportunity to display their power, and obtained William's permission to destroy the Macdonalds as brigands and murderers. The plan was carried out ruthlessly, and but few of the clan escaped. It had the effect, however, of rousing the Lowlands in behalf of the Highlanders, and William was forced to dismiss his agents. The account from which this extract is taken was written, apparently, in answer to a doubt whether such a massacre actually took place. — For conditions in the

Highlands,
see No. 112,
and Lecky,
*History of
England in
the eighteenth
century.*

suspected to be to take course with those who should stand out, and not submit, and take the Oaths. The Garrison of *Inverlochy* being throng'd, and *Glenco* being commodious for quartering, as being near that Garrison, those Soldiers were sent thither to Quarter ; . . . ere they entred *Glenco*, that Laird, or his Sons, came out to meet them, and asked them if they came as Friends or as Enemies? The Officers answer'd as Friends ; and gave their Paroll of Honour, that they would do neither him nor his Concerns any harm ; upon which he welcom'd them, promising them the best Entertainment the Place could afford. This he really perform'd, as all the Soldiers confess. He and they lived together in mutual Kindness and Friendship fifteen days or thereabouts ; so far was he from fearing any Hurt from them. And the very last Day of his Life he spent in keeping Company with the Commander of that Party, Capt. *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, playing at Cards with him till 6 or 7 at Night, and at their parting mutual Protestations of Kindness were renew'd. Some time that very day, but whether before or after their parting, I know not, Capt. *Campbell* had these Orders sent him from Major *Duncanson*, a Copy whereof I here send you.

“Ballacholis, *Feb.* 12. 1692.

“Sir,

“You are hereby ordered to fall upon the Rebels the *Mac-Donalds* of *Glenco*, and put all to the Sword under 70. You are to have especial Care, that the Old Fox and his Sons do upon no account escape your Hands ; You are to secure all the Avenues, that no Man escape : This you are to put in Execution at five a Clock in the Morning precisely, and by that time or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger Party ; If I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. *This is by the King's SPECIAL COMMAND*, for the Good and

Order of the
King. “As
for Mac. Ian

Safety of the Country, that these Miscreants may be cut off, Root and Branch. See that this be put in Execution without Feud or Favour, else you may expect to be Treated as not true to the King or Government, nor a Man fit to carry Commission in the King's Service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love your self. I subscribe these with my Hand,

“ROBERT DUNCANSON.

“For Their Majesties Service, to Capt. *Robert Campbell* of *Glenlyon*.”

of Glencoe, and that Tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders; it will be proper for the Vindication of Publick Justice to extirpate that Sett of Thieves.”
W. R.

. . . The Soldiers being disposed five or three in a House, according to the Number of the Family they were to Assassinate, had their Orders given them secretly. They had been all receiv'd as Friends by those poor people, who intended no Evil themselves, and little suspected that their Guests were design'd to be their Murtherers. At 5 a Clock in the Morning they began their bloody Work, Surpris'd and Butcher'd 38 Persons, who had kindly receiv'd them under their Roofs. *Mac-jan* himself was Murther'd, and is much bemoan'd; He was a stately well-favour'd Man, and of good Courage and Sense: As also the Laird *Archintrikin*, a Gentleman of more than ordinary Judgment and Understanding, who had submitted to the Government, and had Coll. *Hill's* Protection in his Pocket, which he had got three Months before. I cannot without Horror represent how that a Boy about Eight Years of Age was murdered; he seeing what was done to others in the House with him, in a terrible Fright run out of the House, and espying Capt. *Campbell*, grasp'd him about the Legs, crying for Mercy, and offering to be his Servant all his Life. I am informed Capt. *Campbell* inclined to spare him; but one *Drummond*, an Officer, barbarously run his Dagger through him, whereof he died immediately, The rehearsal of several Particulars and Circumstances of this Tragical Story, makes it appear

most doleful ; as that *Mac-jan* was killed as he was drawing on his Breeches, standing before his Bed, giving Orders to his Servants for the good Entertainment of those who murdered him ; While he was speaking the Words, he was shot through the Head, and fell dead in his Ladies Arms, who through the Grief of this and other bad Usages she met with, died the next day. It is not to be omitted, that most of those poor People were killed when they were asleep, and none was allowed to pray to *God* for Mercy. Providence ordered it so, that that Night was most boisterous ; so as a Party of 400 Men, who should have come to the other End of the *Glen*, and begun the like work there at the same Hour, (intending that the poor Inhabitants should be enclosed, and none of them escape) could not march at length, until it was 9 a Clock, and this afforded to many an Opportunity of escaping, and none were killed but those in whose Houses *Campbell* and *Glenlyon's* Men were Quartered, otherwise all the Male under 70 Years of Age, to the number of 200, had been cut off, for that was the Order ; and it might have been easily executed, especially considering that the Inhabitants had no Arms at that time ; for upon the first hearing that the Soldiers were coming to the *Glen*, they had conveyed them all out of the way : For though they relied on the promises which were made them for their Safety ; yet they thought it not improbable that they might be disarmed. I know not whether to impute it to difficulty of distinguishing the difference of a few Years, or to the fury of the Souldiers, who being once glutted with *Blood*, stand at nothing, that even some above Seventy Years of Age were destroyed. They set all the Houses on Fire, drove off all the Cattle to the Garison of *Inverlochy*, viz. 900 Cows, 200 Horses, and a great many Sheep and Goats, and there they were divided amongst the Officers. And how dismal may you imagine the Case of the poor Women and Children was then ! It was lamentable, past

Two of Mac-
Ian's sons
escaped.

expression ; their Husbands and Fathers, and near Relations were forced to flee for their Lives ; they themselves almost stript, and nothing left them, and their Houses being burnt, and not one House nearer than six Miles ; and to get thither they were to pass over Mountains, and Wreaths of Snow, in a vehement Storm, wherein the greatest part of them perished through Hunger and Cold. . . .

There is enough of this mournful Subject : If what I have said satisfy you not, you may have what farther Proof, and in what manner you please to ask it.

Sir,

Your Humble Servant, &c.

A Letter from a Gentleman in Scotland to his friend at London, who desir'd a Particular Account of the Business at Glenco
(Clarendon Historical Society, 1885, 103-110).

CHAPTER XVI—POLITICAL CON- DITIONS AFTER 1688

103. A Burlesque Bill of Costs for a Tory Election (1715)

ANONY-
MOUS. "It
will be ob-
served in
this 'bill'
that bribery
is not put
down as one
of the promi-
nent features
of an elec-
tion at this
period; vio-
lence was, as
yet, found to
be more
effective than
corruption."
Wright.

	£	s.	d.
<i>Imprimis</i> , for bespeaking and collecting a mob	20	0	0
<i>Item</i> , for many suits of knots for their heads	30	0	0
For scores of huzza-men	40	0	0
For roarers of the word "Church"	40	0	0
For a set of "No Roundhead" roarers	40	0	0
For several gallons of Tory punch on church tomb-stones	30	0	0
For a majority of clubs and brandy-bottles	20	0	0
For bell-ringers, fiddlers, and porters	10	0	0
For a set of coffee-house praters	40	0	0
For extraordinary expense for cloths and lac'd hats on show days, to dazzle the mob	50	0	0
For Dissenters' damners	40	0	0
For demolishing two houses	200	0	0
For committing two riots	200	0	0
For secret encouragement to the rioters	40	0	0
For a dozen of perjury men	100	0	0
For packing and carriage paid to Gloucester	50	0	0
For breaking windows	20	0	0
For a gang of alderman-abusers	40	0	0
For a set of notorious lyars	50	0	0
For pot-ale	100	0	0
For law, and charges in the King's Bench	300	0	0
	1460	0	0

The Flying Post (London), January 27, 1715 (cited by Thomas
Wright, *Caricature History of the Georges*, London, 1867, 17).

104. A Debate on the "Wilkes" Case (1764)

Sunday evening Feb. 19th.

Happening to hear of a gentleman who sets out for Paris in two or three days, I stopped my letter, both out of prudence (pray admire me !) and from thinking that it was as well to send you at once the complete history of our Great Week. By the time you have read the preceding pages, you may, perhaps, expect to find a change in the ministry in what I am going to say. You must have a little patience ; our parliamentary war, like the last war in Germany, produces very considerable battles that are not decisive. Marshal Pitt has given another great blow to the subsidiary army, but they remained masters of the field, and both sides sing *Te Deum*. I am not talking figuratively, when I assure you that bells, bonfires, and an illumination from the Monument, were prepared in the City, in case we had had the majority. Lord Temple was so indiscreet and indecent as to have fagots ready for two bonfires, but was persuaded to lay aside the design, even before it was abortive.

It is impossible to give you the detail of so long a debate as Friday's. You will regret it the less when I tell you it was a very dull one. I never knew a day of expectation answer. The impromptus and the unexpected are ever the most shining. We love to hear ourselves talk, and yet we must be formed of adamant to be able to talk day and night on the same question for a week together. if you had seen how ill we looked, you would not have wondered we did not speak well. A company of colliers emerging from damp and darkness could not have appeared more ghastly and dirty than we did on Wednesday morning ; and we had not recovered much bloom on Friday. We spent two or three hours on corrections of, and additions to, the question

By HORACE WALPOLE, EARL OF ORFORD (1717-1797), son of Sir Robert Walpole. He filled various public offices, and for some years he sat in the House of Commons, but he was more distinguished in literature than in politics. He was a keen observer and in close intercourse with the leading men of his time, and his Letters and Memoirs, which cover a large part of the reigns of George II and George III, throw a strong light on the events of the day. This extract is from a letter to the Earl of Hertford, British Ambassador at Paris, and describes a debate on the question of general warrants. — On the Wilkes case, see

Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*.

I.e. against general warrants.

Former Speaker of the House.

See Colby, *Selections from the Sources*.

Hon. H. S. Copway, later dismissed from all his offices, civil and military, for opposing the ministry on the question of general warrants.

of pronouncing the warrant illegal, till the ministry had contracted it to fit scarce anything but the individual case of Wilkes, Pitt not opposing the amendments because Charles Yorke gave into them; for it is wonderful what deference is paid by both sides to that house. The debate then began by Norton's moving to adjourn the consideration of the question for four months, and holding out a promise of a bill, which neither they mean, nor, for my part, should I like: I would not give prerogative so much as a definition. You are a peer, and therefore, perhaps, will hear it with patience — but think how *our* ears must have tingled, when he told us, that should we pass the resolution, and he were judge, he would mind it no more than the resolution of a drunken porter! — Had old Onslow been in the chair, I believe he would have knocked him down with the mace. He did hear of it during the debate, though not severely enough; but the town rings with it. Charles Yorke replied, and was much admired. Me he did not please; I require a little more than palliatives and sophistries. He excused the part he has taken by pleading that he had never seen the warrant till after Wilkes was taken up — yet he then pronounced the 'No. 45' a libel, and advised the commitment of Wilkes to the Tower. If you advised me to knock a man down, would you excuse yourself by saying you had never seen the stick with which I gave the blow? Other speeches we had without end, but none good, except from Lord George Sackville, a short one from Elliot, and one from Charles Townshend, so fine that it *amazed, even from him*. Your brother had spoken with excellent sense against the corrections, and began well again in the debate, but with so much rapidity that he confounded himself first, and then was seized with such a hoarseness that he could not proceed. Pitt and George Grenville ran a match of silence, striving which should reply to the other. At last, Pitt, who had three times in the debate retired with pain, rose about three

in the morning, but so languid, so exhausted, that, in his life, he never made less figure. Grenville answered him; and at five in the morning we divided. The Noes were so loud, as it admits a deeper sound than Aye, that the Speaker, . . . gave it for us. They went forth; and when I heard our side counted to the amount of 218, I did conclude we were victorious; but they returned 232. It is true we were beaten by fourteen, but we were increased by twenty-one; and no ministry could stand on so slight an advantage, if we could continue above two hundred.

We may, and probably shall, fall off: this was our strongest question — but our troops will stand fast; their hopes and views depend upon it, and their spirits are raised. But for the other side it will not be the same. The lookers-out will be strayers away, and their very subsidies will undo them. They bought two single votes that day with two peerages; Sir R. Bampfylde and Sir Charles Tynte — and so are going to light up the flame of two more county elections — and that in the west, where surely nothing was wanting but a tinder-box!

You would have almost laughed to see the spectres produced by both sides; one would have thought that they had sent a search-warrant for Members of Parliament into every hospital. Votes were brought down in flannels and blankets, till the floor of the House looked like the pool of Bethesda. 'Tis wonderful that half of us are not dead — I should not say us; Herculean *I* have not suffered the least, except that from being a Hercules of ten grains, I don't believe I now weigh above eight. I felt from nothing so much as the noise, which made me as drunk as an owl — you may imagine the clamours of two parties so nearly matched, and so impatient to come to a decision.

The Duchess of Richmond has got a fever with the attendance of Tuesday — but on Friday we were forced to be unpolite. The Amazons came down in such squadrons,

George Grenville, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and author of the Stamp Act.

Contradicted later.

that we were forced to be denied. However, eight or nine of the patriotesses dined in one of the Speaker's rooms, and stayed there till twelve — nay, worse, while their dear country was at stake, I am afraid they were playing at Loo ! . . .

The chief business now, I suppose, will lie in *souterreins* and intrigues. Lord Bute's panic will, probably, direct him to make application to us. Sandwich will be manufacturing lies, and Rigby negotiations. Some change or other, whether partial or extensive, must arrive. The best that can happen for the Ministers, is to be able to ward off the blow till the recess, and they have time to treat at leisure ; but in just the present state it is impossible things should remain. The Opposition is too strong, and their leaders too able to make no impression.

David
Hume, the
historian.

Adieu ! pray tell Mr. Hume that I am ashamed to be thus writing the history of England, when he is with you !

Horace Walpole, *Letters* (edited by P. Cunningham, London, 1857), IV, 189-192.

105. Purchasing a Seat in the Unreformed Parliament

By PHILIP STANHOPE, EARL OF CHESTERFIELD (1694-1773), "politician, wit, and letter-writer." In the reigns of the first two Georges he was active in politics. Although a Whig, he was a life-long opponent of Walpole, and usually he supported

Bath, December 19, 1767.

My Dear Friend,

. . . In one of our conversations here, this time twelvemonth, I desired him to secure you a seat in the new Parliament ; he assured me he would ; and, I am convinced, very sincerely ; he said even that he would make it his own affair ; and desired I would give myself no more trouble about it. Since that, I have heard no more of it ; which made me look out for some venal borough : and I spoke to a borough-jobber, and offered five-and-twenty hundred pounds for a secure seat in Parliament ; but he laughed

at my offer, and said, that there was no such thing as a borough to be had now; for that the rich East and West Indians had secured them all, at the rate of three thousand pounds at least; but many at four thousand; and two or three, that he knew, at five thousand. This, I confess, has vexed me a good deal; and made me the more impatient to know whether Lord Chatham had done anything in it; which I shall know when I go to town, as I propose to do in about a fortnight; and, as soon as I know it, you shall. To tell you truly what I think — I doubt, from all these *nervous disorders*, that Lord Chatham is *hors de combat*, as a Minister; but do not even hint this to anybody. God bless you!

(Signed)

Chesterfield.

Earl of Chesterfield, *Letters* (London, 1845), IV, 463, 464.

[June 27th. 1807.] I shall procure myself a seat in the new Parliament, unless I find that it will cost so large a sum, as, in the state of my family, it would be very imprudent for me to devote to such an object, which I find is very likely to be the case. Tierney, who manages this business for the friends of the late administration, assures me that he can hear of no seats to be disposed of. After a Parliament which has lived little more than four months, one would naturally suppose, that those seats which are regularly sold by the proprietors of them would be very cheap; they are, however, in fact, sold now at a higher price than was ever given for them before. Tierney tells me that he has offered 10,000*l.* for the two seats of Westbury, the property of the late Lord Abingdon, and which are to be made the most of by trustees for creditors, and has met with a refusal. 6000*l.* and 5500*l.* have been given for seats with no stipulation as to time, or against the event of a speedy dissolution by the King's death, or by any change of administration. The truth is, that the new Ministers have bought up all the

Pitt. His views were liberal, and he opposed strongly coercion of the colonies. His later years were devoted to literature and to the training of his son Philip, to whom this letter was written. — On political conditions, see May, *Constitutional History of England*. "Him," *i.e.* the Earl of Chatham.

This extract is from the diary of SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY (1757–1818), statesman and reformer. Romilly was a leader in the legal profession and solicitor general to the administration of All the Talents in 1806, but he is best remembered as the reformer of the Criminal Code. When he took the work in

hand there were over 200 capital offences in the English law; 187 of these had been added since the Restoration, — at the present time there are two, murder and treason.

seats that were to be disposed of, and at any prices. Amongst others, Sir C. H. —, the great dealer in boroughs, has sold all he had to Ministers. With what money all this is done I know not, but it is supposed that the King, who has greatly at heart to preserve this new administration, the favourite objects of his choice, has advanced a very large sum out of his privy purse.

This buying of seats is detestable; and yet it is almost the only way in which one in my situation, who is resolved to be an independent man, can get into Parliament. To come in by a popular election, in the present state of the representation, is quite impossible; to be placed there by some great lord, and to vote as he shall direct, is to be in a state of complete dependence; and nothing hardly remains but to owe a seat to the sacrifice of a part of one's fortune. It is true that many men who buy seats, do it as a matter of pecuniary speculation, as a profitable way of employing their money: they carry on a political trade; they buy their seats, and sell their votes. For myself, I can truly say that, by giving money for a seat, I shall make a sacrifice of my private property, merely that I may be enabled to serve the public. I know what danger there is of men's disguising from themselves the real motives of their actions; but it really does appear to me that it is from this motive alone that I act.

May 9th. After almost despairing of being able to get any seat in Parliament, my friend Piggott has at last procured me one; and the Duke of Norfolk has consented to bring me in for Horsham. It is however but a precarious seat. I shall be returned, as I shall have a majority of votes, which the late committee of the House of Commons decided to be good ones; but there will be a petition against the return, by the candidates who will stand on Lady Irwin's interest, and it is extremely doubtful what will be the event of the petition. . . .

Position of a Representative 305

12th. The terms upon which I have my seat at Horsham will be best explained by a letter I wrote to Piggott to-day after the election was over, and which I am glad to keep a copy of. It is (at least so much of it as relates to this subject) in these words: "Though there is no danger that I should have misunderstood you, yet it may be as well to say, while it is fresh in both our recollections, what I understand to be the extent of my engagement. If I keep the seat, either by the decision of a committee upon a petition, or by a compromise (the Duke and Lady Irwin returning one member each, in which case it is understood that I am to be the member who continues), I am to pay 2000*l.* : if, upon a petition, I lose the seat, I am not to be at any expence."

Sir Samuel Romilly, *Memoirs* (London, 1840), II, 200-202.

106. The Position of a Representative (1774)

. . . I am sorry I cannot conclude, without saying a word on a topick touched upon by my worthy colleague. I wish that topick had been passed by at a time when I have so little leisure to discuss it. But since he has thought proper to throw it out, I owe you a clear explanation of my poor sentiments on that subject.

He tells you, that "the topick of instructions has occasioned much altercation and uneasiness in this city;" and he expresses himself (if I understand him rightly) in favour of the coercive authority of such instructions.

Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative, to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communi-

By EDMUND BURKE
(1729-1797),
statesman
and philosopher.
In 1766 he entered Parli-
ament just in
time to take
part in the
American
debates.
Henceforth
he advocated
the cause of
the colonists
with voice
and pen.
He was
active also in
urging
economic
reform,
the protec-
tion of the

personal liberty of the subject, the interests of Ireland, the land of his birth. Above all, he showed his splendid eloquence in the impeachment trial of Warren Hastings for misgovernment in India. Nevertheless, he resisted steadily all plans of parliamentary reform, declaring, "I have a constitution to maintain as well as a constitution to reform." The outbreak of the French Revolution revealed Burke's essential conservatism. In speech and pamphlet he sounded the alarm that the Constitution was in danger. See No. 123. — For Burke, see Burke, *Works*; J. Morley, *Edmund Burke*.

cation with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion, high respect; their business, unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But his unbiassed opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

My worthy colleague says, his will ought to be subservient to yours. If that be all, the thing is innocent. If government were a matter of will upon any side, yours, without question, ought to be superior. But government and legislation are matters of reason and judgment, and not of inclination; and what sort of reason is that, in which the determination precedes the discussion; in which one set of men deliberate, and another decide; and where those who form the conclusion are perhaps three hundred miles distant from those who hear the arguments?

To deliver an opinion, is the right of all men; that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always to rejoice to hear; and which he ought always most seriously to consider. But *authoritative* instructions; *mandates* issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and conscience; these are things utterly unknown to the laws of this land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenour of our constitution.

Parliament is not a *congress* of ambassadors from differ-

ent and hostile interests ; which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates ; but parliament is a *deliberative* assembly of *one* nation, with *one* interest, that of the whole ; where, not local purposes, not local prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You chuse a member indeed ; but when you have chosen him, he is not a member of Bristol, but he is a member of *parliament*. If the local constituent should have an interest, or should form an hasty opinion, evidently opposite to the real good of the rest of the community, the member for that place ought to be as far, as any other, from any endeavour to give it effect. I beg pardon for saying so much on this subject. I have been unwillingly drawn into it ; but I shall ever use a respectful frankness of communication with you. Your faithful friend, your devoted servant, I shall be to the end of my life : a flatterer you do not wish for. On this point of instructions, however, I think it scarcely possible we ever can have any sort of difference. Perhaps I may give you too much, rather than too little trouble.

Burke continued to represent Bristol in Parliament till 1780.

From the first hour I was encouraged to court your favour, to this happy day of obtaining it, I have never promised you anything but humble and persevering endeavours to do my duty. The weight of that duty, I confess, makes me tremble ; and whoever well considers what it is, of all things in the world, will fly from what has the least likeness to a positive and precipitate engagement. To be a good member of parliament is, let me tell you, no easy task ; especially at this time, when there is so strong a disposition to run into the perilous extremes of servile compliance or wild popularity. To unite circumspection with vigour, is absolutely necessary ; but it is extremely difficult. We are now members for a rich commercial *city* ; this city, however, is but a part of a rich commercial

nation, the interests of which are various, multiform, and intricate. We are members for that great nation, which however is itself but part of a great *empire*, extended by our virtue and our fortune to the farthest limits of the east and of the west. All these wide-spread interests must be considered; must be compared; must be reconciled, if possible. We are members for a *free* country; and surely we all know, that the machine of a free constitution is no simple thing; but as intricate and as delicate as it is valuable. We are members in a great and ancient *monarchy*; and we must preserve religiously the true legal rights of the sovereign, which form the key-stone that binds together the noble and well-constructed arch of our empire and our constitution. A constitution made up of balanced powers must ever be a critical thing. As such I mean to touch that part of it which comes within my reach. I know my inability, and I wish for support from every quarter. . . .

Edmund Burke, *Speech to the Electors of Bristol*, November 3, 1774. *Works* (London, 1815), 3, 18-22.

107. Dunning's Motion on the Power of the Crown (1780)

On the 6th of April, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee, in order to take the petitions of the people into consideration; and on this occasion a very important debate took place concerning the influence of the crown. The titles of the petitions were previously read, and they amounted to forty in number.

The debate was opened by Mr. Dunning, who observed, that there were two great objects which the petitions recommended to the care and attention of parliament: these were,

The debate here described was the high-water mark in the advance of reform in the eighteenth century. Increasing taxation and disaster in America strengthened the demand for reform, meetings and petitions

a reduction of the dangerous, alarming, and increasing influence of the crown, and an economical expenditure of the public money. Little had yet been done in compliance with the requisitions of the people. . . .

As so little, therefore, had hitherto been done towards complying with the petitions of the people, he thought it absolutely necessary that parliament should come to a clear and explicit conclusion on the subject; and that in the present session it should be plainly demonstrated to the people that their petitions would either be granted or rejected. He hoped, that he should be able to effectuate this, and with this view he had framed such propositions, as would produce, either directly, or by clear implication, that information. . . .

His first motion was, that it should be resolved by that house, "That the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." This, he said, he considered as an unquestionable fact, as a fact of which no man in that house could entertain a doubt. He did not mean by the influence of the crown, that influence which arose from its virtues, or the just rights of its prerogative, but that which arose from corruption, and other undue practices. He might probably be called upon for proof of the increase of the influence of the crown. He had no witnesses, because where every man could be a witness, it was difficult to pitch upon any particular man. Every man that he met on the streets would tell him, that the members of the House of Commons knew better than any other men, that the influence of the crown was increased, and increasing daily to a most ruinous length. Many men in that house could point to their next neighbour, and say that he was corrupted, and was actually to be paid in hard and sordid guineas, or perhaps in softer, but no less sordid paper, for his conduct that day. Nothing but an influence of the most corrupt and alarming nature could ever induce gentlemen in

showed the popular feeling.

John Dunning, later Lord Ashburton, who introduced the famous resolution upon the power of the crown, was already well known for the part that he had taken in the contests over Wilkes and colonial taxation.

that house to give votes which they reprobated out of the house. He had himself been often present, when members of that house had condemned, in the most violent, indignant, and contumelious terms, the measures which they had supported in it. It was notorious, that many of that majority who had, for some years, supported all the measures of the minister in that house, were as loud in ridiculing and censuring his measures without doors, as any of the gentlemen in the opposition. This was a well known fact: and if the task were not an invidious one, he could directly name at least fifty members, who had done so in his presence. The reason was manifest; without doors they spoke their real sentiments; in that house they were bribed to vote against them.

Lord North.

Lotteries were a favourite source of public revenue, and large numbers of the tickets were usually disposed of to members of Parliament to be sold at high premiums. Lord Rockingham declared that 70 elections were decided by the votes of revenue officers.

In 1782 contractors were excluded from Parliament.

Besides the ordinary means of corruption used in that house, he mentioned the partial distribution of military promotions, lottery tickets, and the subscriptions to the loan. He also observed, that an increased army and navy, increased customs and taxes, and consequently an extended collection, necessarily threw into the hands of the executive power a new and unusual degree of influence. He found another great source of influence in the patronage of the East India Company. Directors were made contractors, and contractors directors, to serve the purposes of the minister. In short, the pernicious tendency of the influence of the crown was every where manifest throughout the kingdom, nor could any thing be more ridiculous than to doubt the reality of its existence.

Lord Nugent opposed the motion as involving in it an abstract question, and because it was not connected with any one measure whatever: it pointed to no remedy, nor was it apparently designed to avert any evil. As to the proposition itself, he was convinced that it was not well founded. He had more than once given it as his sincere opinion, that the influence of the crown was not increased, neither compara-

tively increased, nor improperly increased. Though he had long been a member of parliament, he could affirm, that he never recollected a period in which influence was less felt, than since the noble Lord who presided in the treasury came into his present situation. He said, that the influence of the crown was always greatest in moments of success ; and it was never so great as in the glorious reign of George II. and under the administration of that great minister the Earl of Chatham, who never corrupted. But even admitting that the influence of the crown had increased for some years past, was the present a proper time to diminish it? Ought the influence of the crown to be lessened at a time when America was lost, he feared, irretrievably lost? If there were any members of that house who felt themselves to be corrupt tools and slaves of government, he hoped they would atone for their faults by acknowledging that they had been guilty, and promising amendment. For his own part, he had supported the minister because he thought him to be in the right. He had supported him as warmly as his nearest friend. He owned, however, that we had been in the wrong. He was convinced, that we had been in the wrong with respect to America. Events had altered his opinion, but he had supported the minister in his measures respecting the colonies, from a persuasion, that we had both justice, and a probability of success, on our side. He was now so far altered, that he wished we could get out of the American war by any handsome means. . . .

Mr. Thomas Pitt replied, and mentioned the circumstance of the minister being in possession of his present office, as an undubitable proof of the enormous influence of the crown. He asked, whether that noble lord had not lost America? Whether he had not spent millions of the public money, and wasted rivers of British blood, in that iniquitous contest? And though the whole country execrated the American war, the same minister, by whom the colonies

had been lost, still held his place. To what was this ascribable? Solely to the increased influence of the crown. The whole business of the minister, for a series of years, had been to make excuses, and to devise expedients; to find supplies from year to year, without inventing any method in finance, any scheme of supply comprehensive or permanent, or adopting any measure for the benefit of the nation. The minister had sunk and degraded the honour of Great Britain, and disgraced the name of Englishman. He had formerly been proud of the name of Englishman; for there was a time, and he hoped he did not speak it through vanity, when his country was brought to the highest pitch of glory under a Whig minister, a relation of his, he meant the Earl of Chatham. But it was now the reverse. Everything we once valued had been lost in the American war. As to the minister, his name was a subject of contempt and ridicule in every court of Europe. The present motion was highly seasonable and proper, because the influence of the crown was so enormously increased, that the people of England at large at length saw it, and were alarmed. They had expressed their sense of it in their petitions, and solicited that it might be diminished. To comply with that request was the duty of the house, and if something effectual was not done upon the present occasion, the most dreadful consequences might be the result.

Lord North warmly denied, that America had been lost through him, or that he could justly be accused as the author of the public distress. He wished his conduct to be investigated; for he was ready to answer any charge that might be brought against it. With regard to the American war, and the various measures pursued relative to it, they were not his measures as a Minister, they were all grounded on acts of the legislature: some of the bills had been proposed by him, and some by others, to which he had given his consent, in common with the majority of the representatives of the peo-

Chatham
was his
uncle.

ple. In proposing and assenting to those bills, he had acted as a member of parliament, and as such only was responsible. In the course of his speech the minister threw out some strong expressions against the gentlemen in opposition, charging them with pursuing measures which were calculated to overturn the constitution. He was called to order, and a considerable degree of clamour took place in the house. After this had subsided, several other gentlemen, on both sides, spoke in the debate . . . and at twelve o'clock the committee divided. The numbers were, for Mr. Dunning's motion 233, against it 215; so that the minister was again left in a minority.

With the exception of nine, all the county members, the most independent part of the House, were in the majority.

The New Annual Register, 1780, 148-153.

Queen's House, April 7th, 1780.
50 min. pt. 7. A. M.

The whole tenour of Lord North's conduct, from the hour that he accepted the post he now fills, is a surety to me that he will not expect an immediate answer on so material an event as the one he alludes to in his letter that I have just found on my table. I cannot help just adding that the resolution come to in the Committee last night, and already reported to the House can by no means be looked on as personal to him; I wish I did not feel at whom they are *personally levelled*.

George III, *Letters to Lord North* (edited by W. Donne, London, 1867), II, 313.

By SYDNEY
SMITH

(1771-1845),
clergyman,
wit, and
political
writer. He
belonged to
the group of
young men
which kept
alive the
tradition of
liberty in
England and
Scotland
during the
period of re-
pression that
opened the
nineteenth
century.

With
Jeffrey and
Brougham he
founded the
*Edinburgh
Review* in
1803. The
accompany-
ing extract is
from the
*Plymley
Letters* in
defence of
Catholic
Emancipa-
tion, pub-
lished anony-
mously.

These
Letters were
Smith's best
piece of
work, and
they went
through six-
teen editions
within the
first year.

At this time
Catholics
were ex-
cluded from

108. Catholic Emancipation (1808)

... I have been in every corner of Ireland, and have studied its present strength and condition with no common labour. Be assured Ireland does not contain at this moment less than five millions of people. There were returned in the year 1791 to the hearth tax 701,000 houses, and there is no kind of question that there were about 50,000 houses omitted in that return. Taking, however, only the number returned for the tax, and allowing the average of six to a house (a very small average for a potato-fed people), this brings the population to 4,200,000 people in the year 1791: and it can be shown from the clearest evidence (and Mr. Newenham in his book shows it), that Ireland for the last fifty years has increased in its population at the rate of 50,000 or 60,000 per annum; which leaves the present population of Ireland at about five millions, after every possible deduction for *existing circumstances, just and necessary wars, mon- strous and unnatural rebellions*, and other sources of human destruction. Of this population, two out of ten are Protestants; and the half of the Protestant population are Dis- senters, and as inimical to the Church as the Catholics themselves. In this state of things thumbscrews and whip- ping—admirable engines of policy as they must be considered to be—will not ultimately prevail. The Catholics will hang over you; they will watch for the moment, and compel you hereafter to give them ten times as much, against your will, as they would now be contented with, if it were voluntarily surrendered. Remember what happened in the American war, when Ireland compelled you to give her everything she asked, and to renounce, in the most explicit manner, your claim of sovereignty over her. God Almighty grant the folly of these present men may not bring on such another crisis of public affairs!

Catholic Emancipation 315

What are your dangers which threaten the Establishment? — Reduce this declamation to a point, and let us understand what you mean. The most ample allowance does not calculate that there would be more than twenty members who were Roman Catholics in one house, and ten in the other, if the Catholic emancipation were carried into effect. Do you mean that these thirty members would bring in a bill to take away the tithes from the Protestant, and to pay them to the Catholic clergy? Do you mean that a Catholic general would march his army into the House of Commons, and purge it of Mr. Perceval and Dr. Duigenan? or, that the theological writers would become all of a sudden more acute and more learned, if the present civil incapacities were removed? Do you fear for your tithes, or your doctrines, or your person, or the English Constitution? Every fear, taken separately, is so glaringly absurd, that no man has the folly or the boldness to state it. Every one conceals his ignorance, or his baseness, in a stupid general panic, which, when called on, he is utterly incapable of explaining. Whatever you think of the Catholics, there they are — you cannot get rid of them; your alternative is to give them a lawful place for stating their grievances, or an unlawful one: if you do not admit them to the House of Commons, they will hold their parliament in Potatoe-place, Dublin, and be ten times as violent and inflammatory as they would be in Westminster. Nothing would give me such an idea of security as to see twenty or thirty Catholic gentlemen in Parliament, looked upon by all the Catholics as the fair and proper organ of their party. I should have thought it the height of good fortune that such a wish existed on their part, and the very essence of madness and ignorance to reject it. Can you murder the Catholics? — Can you neglect them? They are too numerous for both these expedients. What remains to be done is obvious to every human being — but to that man who, instead of being a Methodist preacher, is, for the

office and
from Parlia-
ment.
See No. 128.

Mr. Perceval,
Chancellor
of the
Exchequer.

curse of us and our children, and for the ruin of Troy and the misery of good old Priam and his sons, become a legislator and a politician.

A distinction, I perceive, is taken by one of the most feeble noblemen in Great Britain, between persecution and the deprivation of political power; whereas, there is no more distinction between these two things than there is between him who makes the distinction and a booby. If I strip off the relic-covered jacket of a Catholic, and give him twenty stripes . . . I persecute; if I say, Everybody in the town where you live shall be a candidate for lucrative and honourable offices, but you, who are a Catholic . . . I do not persecute! What barbarous nonsense is this! as if degradation was not as great an evil as bodily pain or as severe poverty: as if I could not be as great a tyrant by saying, You shall not enjoy — as by saying, You shall suffer. The English, I believe, are as truly religious as any nation in Europe: I know no greater blessing; but it carries with it this evil in its train — that any villain who will bawl out, "*The Church is in danger!*" may get a place and a good pension; and that any administration who will do the same thing may bring a set of men into power who, at a moment of stationary and passive piety, would be hooted by the very boys in the streets. But it is not all religion; it is, in great part, the narrow and exclusive spirit which delights to keep the common blessings of sun and air and freedom from other human beings, "Your religion has always been degraded; you are in the dust, and I will take care you never rise again. I should enjoy less the possession of an earthly good by every additional person to whom it was extended." You may not be aware of it yourself, most reverend Abraham, but you deny their freedom to the Catholics upon the same principle that Sarah your wife refuses to give the receipt for a ham or a gooseberry dumpling: she values her receipts, not because they secure to her a certain flavour, but because

"Plymley"
addresses his
Letters to
"My brother
Abraham," a
country
parson.

they remind her that her neighbours want it:—a feeling laughable in a priestess, shameful in a priest; venial when it withholds the blessings of a ham, tyrannical and execrable when it narrows the boon of religious freedom.

You spend a great deal of ink about the character of the present prime minister. Grant you all that you write—I say, I fear he will ruin Ireland, and pursue a line of policy destructive to the true interest of his country: and then you tell me, he is faithful to Mrs. Perceval, and kind to the Master Percevals! These are, undoubtedly, the first qualifications to be looked to in a time of the most serious public danger; but somehow or another (if public and private virtues must always be incompatible), I should prefer that he destroyed the domestic happiness of Wood or Cockell, owed for the veal of the preceding year, whipped his boys, and saved his country.

The late administration did not do right; they did not build their measures upon the solid basis of facts. They should have caused several Catholics to have been dissected after death by surgeons of either religion; and the report to have been published with accompanying plates. If the viscera, and other organs of life, had been found to be the same as in Protestant bodies; if the provisions of nerves, arteries, cerebrum, and cerebellum, had been the same as we are provided with, or as the Dissenters are now known to possess; then, indeed they might have met Mr. Perceval upon a proud eminence, and convinced the country at large of the strong probability that the Catholics are really human creatures, endowed with the feelings of men, and entitled to all their rights. But instead of this wise and prudent measure, Lord Howick, with his usual precipitation, brings forward a bill in their favour, without offering the slightest proof to the country that they were anything more than horses and oxen. . . . I could write you twenty letters upon this subject; but I am tired, and so I suppose are

The ministry of "All the Talents," under Grenville and Fox, 1806-1807.

Later Earl Grey.

you. Our friendship is now of forty years' standing; you know me to be a truly religious man; but I shudder to see religion treated like a cockade, or a pint of beer, and made the instrument of a party. I love the King, but I love the people as well as the King; and if I am sorry to see his old age molested, I am much more sorry to see four millions of Catholics baffled in their just expectations. . . .

Sydney Smith, *Peter Plymley's Letters*, II (*Works of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, London, 1859, I, 140-142).



By FRANCIS
JEFFREY
(1773-1850),
a Scotch-
man, mem-
ber of the
group of
young
Whigs which
included
Sydney
Smith and
Brougham,
one of the
founders and
editor of the
*Edinburgh
Review*, and
Lord Advo-
cate in the
Ministry that
carried
through the
Reform Bill
of 1832.
This extract
is from a
speech made
during the
debates on
that measure.

109. Scotland in the Unreformed Parlia- ment (1831)

. . . The system of Scotland is not a representation of the Crown, nor of the Peers, nor of the great landed proprietors; but, excluding all these, it is only the representation of a most insignificant oligarchy, not very high in rank or station, and of which the majority is not even connected with the great landed interests. The whole constituency of thirty counties, the whole number of the voters, according to the list of freeholders, does not exceed 3,000, from which are to be deducted between 500 and 600 who have votes and freeholds in two or three counties, making the whole number of voters not exceeding 2,400 or 2,500 — a constituency for the whole of Scotland below the average of the smallest counties in England. The constituency of the boroughs is quite as bad. It consists of the majority of the Town Councils, who elect each other, and the numerical amount of the whole is only 1,440 for the sixty-six boroughs of Scotland. The whole constituency, then, of Scotland, both for the counties and boroughs, is less than 5,000, and probably does not exceed 4,500. The qualification for the right of

voting is derived from what are called Superiorities—a species of right without any real property, which are disposed of in the market, and give a man no more power over the land than that they reserve to him some nominal right, such as a pepper-corn rent. All the 2,500 freeholders, who make up the whole constituency of the counties, and are possessed of the right of voting, are not actual landed proprietors. I do not know the actual number of freeholders who are at the same time landed proprietors, but I believe that those who merely own superiorities are more than half of the whole; so that, therefore, the half of these 2,500 freeholders are not actually the possessors of property in Scotland. . . .

In the county of Argyle, in 1821, there were 47,000 inhabitants, while the number of freeholders was 115; but eighty-four of these were not proprietors, leaving therefore, only thirty-one actual landholders to return the county Members of 97,000 inhabitants. The next place I would refer to is not of much importance—it is the county of Bute, which has a population of only 14,000, and of which the number of freeholders is twenty-one; but, according to the Return, it appears that no fewer than twenty of these retain no property whatever in Bute, and that the whole 14,000 inhabitants are represented by one single voter living in the county. My right hon. friend opposite knows something more of the county of Bute than I do, and perhaps he knows other instances similar to that which I will mention to the House. At an election at Bute, not beyond the memory of man, only one person attended the Meeting, except the Sheriff and the Returning Officer. He, of course, took the Chair, constituted the Meeting, called over the roll of freeholders, answered to his own name, took the vote as to the Preses, and elected himself. He then moved and seconded his own nomination, put the question to the vote, and was unanimously returned. Similar events, have, I believe, taken place since. . . .

A return of
the free-
holders of
Scotland.

I have already stated what the proportion of the constituency in the boroughs is, and for the sixty-six boroughs, the whole number of electors is only 1,440, and they consist of the members of the Town Council, who mutually and reciprocally elect each other. They are renewed indeed every year, but they choose one another. In Glasgow, a city containing 200,000 people, distinguished for their wealth and intelligence, the whole constituency consists of only thirty-three individuals ; and should a contest arise, seventeen persons would decide for the whole city. . . .

Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates* (London, 1832), Third Series, VII, 528-530.

CHAPTER XVII — IN HANOVERIAN TIMES

110. The Cloth-market at Leeds (1725)

FROM *Aberforth* we turned West, and went to *Leeds*, which is a large, wealthy, and populous Town, standing on the North Side of the River *Aire*, with great Suburbs on the South Side, and both joined by a stately, strong, Stone Bridge, so large, and so wide, that formerly the Cloth-market was kept upon it; and therefore the Refreshment given the Clothiers by the Inn-keepers (being a Pot of Ale, a Noggin of Pottage, and a Trencher of boil'd or roast Beef, for Twopence) is called the *Brigg-shot* to this Day.

The Increase of the Manufactures, and of the Trade, soon made the Market too great to be confined to the *Brigg*; so that it is now kept in the High-street, beginning from the Bridge, and running up North almost to the Market-house, where the ordinary Market for Provisions begins; which also is the greatest of its kind in all the North of *England*. You may judge of the Plenty of it, when 500 Load of Apples have been numbered by the Mayor's Officers in a Day.

But the Cloth-market is chiefly to be admired, as a Prodigy of its Kind, and perhaps not to be equalled in the World. The Market for Serges at *Exeter* is indeed a wonderful Thing, and the Money returned very great; but it is there only once a Week, whereas here it is every *Tuesday* and *Saturday*.

Early in the Morning, Tressels are placed in two Rows in the Street, sometimes two Rows on a Side, cross which Boards are laid, which make a kind of temporary Counter on either Side, from one End of the Street to the other.

By DANIEL DEFOE (1661 ?-1731), journalist and novelist. Defoe belonged to the period when the press was first recognized as a force in politics. Through a weekly paper which he established, the *Review*, he exerted much influence. Usually he acted with the Whigs, but he called himself independent. He took an active part in the religious discussions that followed the Revolution, and he was imprisoned and pilloried on the ground of libel against the church. Of his numerous writings the best known is *The Life and Strange Sur-*

prising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner, which appeared in 1719, but he wrote much on financial questions, and his *Tour through Great Britain*, 1724-1725, is the best general account of the country at that time that we have.

This extract shows the conditions of trade and, incidentally of manufacture, before the industrial revolution of the end of the century.

The Clothiers come early in the Morning with their Cloth ; and, as few bring more than one Piece, the Market-days being so frequent, they go into the Inns and Public-houses with it, and there set it down.

At about Six o'Clock in the Summer, and about Seven in the Winter, the Clothiers being all come by that Time, the Market Bell at the Old Chapel by the Bridge rings ; upon which it would surprise a Stranger, to see in how few Minutes, without Hurry, Noise, or the least Disorder, the whole Market is filled, and all the Boards upon the Tressels covered with Cloth, as close to one another as the Pieces can lie longways, each Proprietor standing behind his own Piece, who form a Mercantile Regiment, as it were, drawn up in a double Line, in as great Order as a Military one.

As soon as the Bell has ceased ringing, the Factors and Buyers of all Sorts enter the Market, and walk up and down between the Rows, as their Occasions direct. Some of them have their foreign Letters of Orders, with Patterns sealed on them, in their Hands ; the Colours of which they match, by holding them to the Cloths they think they agree to. When they have pitched upon their Cloth, they lean over to the Clothier, and, by a Whisper, in the fewest Words imaginable, the Price is stated ; one asks, the other bids ; and they agree or disagree in a Moment.

The Reason of this prudent Silence is owing to the Clothiers standing so near to one another ; for it is not reasonable, that one Trader should know another's Traffick.

If a Merchant has bidden a Clothier a Price, and he will not take it, he may go after him to his House, and tell him he has considered of it, and is willing to let him have it ; but they are not to make any new Agreement for it, so as to remove the Market from the Street to the Merchant's House.

The Buyers generally walk up and down twice on each Side of the Rows, and in little more than an Hour all the Business is done. In less than half an Hour you will per-

ceive the Cloth begin to move off, the Clothier taking it up upon his Shoulder to carry it to the Merchant's House. At about half an Hour after Eight the Market Bell rings again, upon which the Buyers immediately disappear, the Cloth is all sold ; or if any remains, it is carried back into the Inn. By Nine o'Clock the Boards and Tressels are removed, and the Street left at Liberty for the Market-people of other Professions, the Linendrapers, Shoemakers, Hard-waremen, and the like.

Thus you see 10 or 20,000*l.* worth of Cloth, and sometimes much more, bought and sold in little more than an Hour, the Laws of the Market being the most strictly observed that I ever saw in any Market in *England*.

If it be asked, How all these Goods at this Place, at *Wakefield*, and at *Halifax*, are vended and disposed of? I would observe,

First, That there is an Home-consumption ; to supply which, several considerable Traders in *Leeds* go with Drovers of Pack-horses, loaden with those Goods, to all the Fairs and Market-towns almost over the whole Island, not to sell by Retail, but to the Shops by Wholesale ; giving large Credit. 'Tis ordinary for one of these Men to carry a thousand Pounds worth of Cloth with him at a time ; and, having sold that, to send his Horses back for as much more ; and this very often in a Summer ; for they travel chiefly at that Season, because of the Badness of the Roads.

There are others, who have Commissions from *London* to buy, or who give Commissions to Factors and Warehouse-keepers in *London* to sell for them, who not only supply all the Shop-keepers and Wholesale Men in London, but sell also very great Quantities to the Merchants, as well for Exportation to the *English* Colonies in *America*, which take off great Quantities of the coarse Goods, especially *New England*, *New York*, *Virginia*, &c. as also to the *Russia Merchants*, who send exceeding great Quantities to

Petersburg, Riga, Dantzick, Narva, Sweden, and Pomerania; tho' of late the Manufactures of this kind set up in *Prussia*, and other Northern Parts of *Germany*, interfere a little with them.

The third Sorts are such as receive Commissions from abroad, to buy Cloth for the Merchants chiefly in *Hamburg*, and in *Holland*, &c. These are not only many in Number, but some of them very considerable in their Dealings, and correspond with the farthest Provinces in *Germany*.

Daniel Defoe, *Tour through Great Britain* (London, 1753), III, 116-119.



By JONATHAN SWIFT (1667-1745), clergyman and satirist. He took an active part in politics, supporting the Whigs until alienated by their liberal church policy. After 1711 he gave his services to the Tory party, and one of his most famous pamphlets, *The Conduct of the Allies*, was in support of the peace negotiations of 1713. Although born and educated in Dublin, he

III. A View of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century.

... As to the first cause of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the soil, as well as temperature of the climate, we have no reason to complain; for, although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bog and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in England; yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near on an equality in point of goodness, and might, with the same encouragement, be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals; in some of which, however, we are only defective in point of skill and industry. . . .

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature has bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.

As to shipping of its own, Ireland is so utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent timber cut down within these fifty or sixty years, it can hardly be said that the nation has

received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state: yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce; besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest.

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to; . . . Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have physic sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of their disease; and thus we are forced to pay five hundred per cent. to decide our properties: in all which we have likewise the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind. . . .

We are so far from having a king to reside among us, that even the viceroy is generally absent four-fifths of his time in the government.

No strangers from other countries make this a part of their travels; where they can expect to see nothing but scenes of misery and desolation.

Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the least title to any considerable employment; to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political consideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England; which, with the profit of employments, pensions, appeals, journeys of pleasure or health, education at the inns of court and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior offices in the army, and other incidents, will

regarded life in Ireland as exile, and gave little attention to Irish affairs until 1724, when he wrote the celebrated *Drapier's Letters* attacking Walpole's plan of furnishing Ireland with a copper coinage. — See G. Saintsbury, *Political Pamphlets*.

During the following years he wrote many pamphlets in behalf of Irish interests. — On Ireland in the eighteenth century, see Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*.

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amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, silver, or even copper. In the Isle of Man they coin their own silver; every petty prince, vassal to the Emperor, can coin what money he pleases. And in this, as in most of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other states or monarchies that were ever known in the world. . . .

Jonathan Swift, *A Short View of the State of Ireland*, 1727, *Works* (edited by Walter Scott, Edinburgh, 1824), VII, 115-117.

This extract is from a *Letter from a Gentleman in Dublin to S. R. W. in London*, and was written about 1727.

The first and greatest shock our trade received, was from an act passed in the reign of King William, in the Parliament of England, prohibiting the exportation of wool manufactured in Ireland. An act (as the event plainly shews) fuller of greediness than good policy; an act as beneficial to France and Spain, as it has been destructive to England and Ireland. At the passing of this fatal act, the condition of our trade was glorious and flourishing, though no way interfering with the English; . . . coarse druggets, bays and shalloons, worsted damasks, strong draught works, slight half-works, and gaudy stuffs, were the only product of our looms: these were partly consumed by the meanest of our people, and partly sent to the northern nations, from which we had in exchange, timber, iron, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, and hard dollars. . . . This money was returned into England for fine cloths, silks, &c. for our own wear, for rents, for coals, for hardware, and all other English manufactures, and, in a great measure, supplied the London merchants with foreign silver for exportation.

The repeated clamours of the English weavers produced this act, so destructive to themselves and us. They looked with envious eyes upon our prosperity, and complained of being undersold by us in those commodities, which they

themselves did not deal in. At their instances the act was passed, and we lost our profitable northern trade. . . .

The only manufactured wares we are allowed to export, are linen cloth and linen yarn, which are marketable only in England; the rest of our commodities are wool, restrained to England, and raw hides, skins, tallow, beef, and butter. Now, these are things for which the northern nations have no occasion; we are therefore obliged, instead of carrying woollen goods to their markets, and bringing home money, to purchase their commodities.

In France, Spain, and Portugal, our wares are more valuable, though it must be owned, our fraudulent trade in wool is the best branch of our commerce; from hence we get wines, brandy, and fruit, very cheap, and in great perfection; so that though England has constrained us to be poor, they have given us leave to be merry. . . .

To England we are allowed to send nothing but linen cloth, yarn, raw hides, skins, tallow, and wool. From thence we have coals, for which we always pay ready money, India goods, English woollen and silks, tobacco, hardware, earthenware, salt, and several other commodities. Our exportations to England are very much overbalanced by our importations; so that the course of exchange is generally too high, and people choose rather to make their remittances to England in specie, than by a bill, and our nation is perpetually drained of its little running cash.

Another cause of the decay of trade, scarcity of money, and swelling of exchange, is the unnatural affectation of our gentry to reside in and about London. Their rents are remitted to them, and spent there. The countryman wants employment from them; the country shopkeeper wants their custom. For this reason he can't pay his Dublin correspondent readily, nor take off a great quantity of his wares. Therefore, the Dublin merchant can't employ the artizan, nor keep up his credit in foreign markets. . . .

I.e. lacks.

Another great calamity, is the exorbitant raising of the rents of lands. Upon the determination of all leases made before the year 1690, a gentleman thinks he has but indifferently improved his estate if he has only doubled his rent-roll. Farms are screwed up to a rack-rent, — leases granted but for a small term of years, — tenants tied down to hard conditions, and discouraged from cultivating the lands they occupy to the best advantage, by the certainty they have of the rent being raised, on the expiration of their lease, proportionably to the improvements they shall make. Thus is honest industry restrained; the farmer is a slave to his landlord; 'tis well if he can cover his family with a coarse home-spun frieze. The artizan has little dealings with him; yet he is obliged to take his provisions from him at an extravagant price, otherwise the farmer cannot pay his rent.

The proprietors of lands keep great part of them in their own hands for sheep-pasture; and there are thousands of poor wretches who think themselves blessed, if they can obtain a hut worse than the squire's dog-kennel, and an acre of ground for a potatoe-plantation, on condition of being as very slaves as any in America. What can be more deplorable, than to behold wretches starving in the midst of plenty!

We are apt to charge the Irish with laziness, because we seldom find them employed; but then we don't consider they have nothing to do. Sir William Temple, in his excellent remarks on the United Provinces, inquires, why Holland, which has the fewest and worst ports and commodities of any nation in Europe, should abound in trade, and Ireland, which has the most and best of both, should have none? This great man attributes this surprising accident to the natural aversion man has for labour; who will not be persuaded to toil and fatigue himself for the superfluities of life throughout the week, when he may provide himself with all

necessary subsistence by the labour of a day or two. But, with due submission to Sir William's profound judgment, the want of trade with us is rather owing to the cruel restraints we lie under, than to any disqualification whatsoever in our inhabitants.

Jonathan Swift, *The Present Miserable State of Ireland, Works*, (edited by Walter Scott, Edinburgh, 1824), VII, 194-199.

112. The Highlanders (circ. 1730)

The Highlanders are divided into Tribes, or Clans, under Chiefs, or Chieftains, as they are called in the Laws of Scotland; and each Clan again divided into Branches from the main Stock, who have Chieftains over them. These are sub-divided into smaller Branches of fifty or sixty Men, who deduce their Original from their particular Chieftains, and rely upon them as their more immediate Protectors and Defenders. But for better Distinction I shall use the Word Chief for the Head of a whole Clan, and the Principal of a Tribe derived from him I shall call a Chieftain.

The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most sublime Degree of Virtue to love their Chief, and pay him a blind Obedience, although it be in Opposition to the Government, the Laws of the Kingdom, or even to the Law of God. He is their Idol; and as they profess to know no King but him (I was going further), so will they say they ought to do whatever he commands without Inquiry.

Next to this Love of their Chief is that of the particular Branch from whence they sprang; and, in a third Degree, to those of the whole Clan or Name, whom they will assist, right or wrong, against those of any other Tribe with which they are at variance, to whom their Enmity, like that of exasperated Brothers, is most outrageous.

By CAPTAIN BURT, engineer officer in Scotland under General Wade.

In the early part of the eighteenth century a serious attempt was made to deal with the lawless and quasi-feudal conditions prevailing in the Highlands.

Schools for the poor people were established. The 42d regiment, the famous Black Watch, was enrolled in 1740 from native companies. Above all, a better system of roads was introduced under General Wade. Between 1726-1737,

250 miles of road and 40 bridges were constructed. But it was not until after the failure of the last Stuart rising in 1745 that the clan system received its death-blow. The outbreak was followed by severe measures. A disarming act was passed, the wearing of the tartan was forbidden, private jurisdictions were destroyed, and the more restless and lawless were recruited for the foreign service.

They likewise owe good Will to such Clans as they esteem to be their particular Well-wishers; and lastly, they have an Adherence one to another as Highlanders, in Opposition to the People of the Low-Country, whom they despise as inferior to them in Courage, and believe they have a Right to plunder them whenever it is in their Power. This last arises from a Tradition, that the Lowlands, in old Times were the Possession of their Ancestors. . . .

The Chief exercises an arbitrary Authority over his Vassals, determines all Differences and Disputes that happen among them, and levies Taxes upon extraordinary Occasions, such as the Marriage of a Daughter, building a House, or some Pretence for his Support and the Honour of the Name. And if any one should refuse to contribute to the best of his Ability he is sure of severe Treatment, and if he persisted in his Obstinacy he would be cast out of his Tribe by general Consent: but Instances of this Kind have very rarely happened.

This Power of the Chiefs is not supported by Interest, as they are Landlords, but as lineally descended from the old Patriarchs, or Fathers of the Families; for they hold the same Authority when they have lost their Estates, as may appear from several, and particularly one who commands in his Clan, though, at the same Time, they maintain him, having nothing left of his own.

On the other Hand, the Chief, even against the Laws, is to protect his Followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their Leader in Clan Quarrels, must free the Necessitous from their Arrears of Rent, and maintain such who, by Accidents, are fallen to total Decay.

If, by Increase of the Tribe, any small Farms are wanting for the Support of such Addition, he splits others into lesser Portions, because all must be somehow provided for; and as the meanest among them pretend to be his Relations

by Consanguinity, they insist upon the Privilege of taking him by the Hand wherever they meet him. . . .

Some of the Chiefs have not only personal Dislikes and Enmity to each other, but there are also hereditary Feuds between Clan and Clan, which have been handed down from one Generation to another for several Ages.

These Quarrels descend to the meanest Vassal ; and thus, sometimes, an innocent Person suffers for Crimes committed by his Tribe at a vast distance of Time before his Being began. . . .

Often the Monuments of a Clan Battle, or some particular Murder, are the Incitements to great Mischiefs. The first-mentioned are small Heaps of Stones, thrown together on the Place where every particular Man fell in Battle ; the other is from such a Heap first cast upon the Spot where the Fact was committed, and afterwards by Degrees increased to a high Pyramid, by those of the Clan that was wronged, in still throwing more Stones upon it as they pass by. The former I have seen overgrown with Moss, upon wide Moors, which showed the Number of Men that were killed in the Action. And several of the latter I have observed in my Journeys, that could not be less than fourteen or fifteen Feet high, with a Base proportionable. Thus, if several Men of Clans at Variance, happen to meet in View of one of these Memorials, 'tis odds but one Party reproaches the other with all the aggravating Circumstances that Tradition (which is mostly a Liar, either in the whole or in a Part) has added to the original Truth ; and then some great Mischief ensues. But if a single Highlander of the Clan that offended, should be met by two or three more of the others, he is sure to be insulted, and receive some cruel Treatment from them.

Thus these Heaps of Stones, as I have heard an old Highlander complain, continue to occasion the Revival of Animosities that had their beginning perhaps Hundreds

of Years before any of the Parties accused were Born : and therefore I think they ought, by Authority, to be scattered, and effectually defaced. . . .

By an old Scottish Law, the Chief was made accountable for any Depredations or other Violences committed by his Clan upon the Borders of the Lowlands ; and in extraordinary Cases he was obliged to give up his Son, or some other nearest Relation, as a Hostage, for the peaceable Behaviour of his Followers in that Respect.

By this Law (for I never saw the Act), he must surely have had an entire Command over them, at least tacitly, or by Inference, understood. For how unreasonable, not to say unjust, must such a Restriction have been to him, if by Sanction of the same Law he had not had a coercive and judicial Authority over those, in whose Choice and Power it always lay to bring Punishment upon him? And if he had such an absolute Command over them, was it not to make of every Chief a petty Prince in his own Territory, and his Followers a People distinct and separate from all others? . . .

It is a received Notion (but nothing can be more unjust) that the ordinary Highlanders are an indolent, lazy People : I know the Contrary by troublesome Experience ; — I say troublesome, because in a certain Affair wherein I had Occasion to employ great Numbers of them, and gave them good Wages, the Solicitations of others for Employment were very earnest, and would hardly admit of a Denial : they are as willing as other People to mend their Way of Living ; and, when they have gained Strength from substantial Food, they work as well as others ; but why should

People be branded with the Name of Idlers, in a Country where there is generally no profitable Business for them to do?

Hence I have concluded, that if any Expedient could be found for their Employment, to their reasonable Advantage,

there would be little else wanting to reform the Minds of the most savage amongst them. For my own Part, I do assure you, that I never had the least Reason to complain of the Behaviour towards me of any of the ordinary Highlanders, or the Irish ; but it wants a great deal that I could truly say as much of the Englishmen and Lowland Scots that were employed in the same Business.

Captain Burt, *Letters from the North of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1876), II, 105-125.

113. John Wesley in Cornwall (1743)

Thursday, [July] 4. I rode to Falmouth. About three in the afternoon I went to see a gentlewoman who had long been indisposed. Almost as soon as I was set down, the house was beset on all sides by an innumerable multitude of people. A louder or more confused noise, could hardly be at the taking of a city by storm. At first, Mrs. B. and her daughter tried to quiet them. But it was labor lost. They might as well have attempted to still the raging of the sea. They were soon glad to shift for themselves, and leave K. E. and me to do as well as we could. The rabble roared with all their throats, 'Bring out the Canorum ! Where is the Canorum ?' (an unmeaning word which the Cornish generally use instead of Methodist.) No answer being given, they quickly forced open the outer door, and filled the passage. Only a wainscoat partition was between us which was not likely to stand long. I immediately took down a large looking-glass which hung against it, supposing the whole side would fall in at once. When they began their work with abundance of bitter imprecations, poor Kitty was utterly astonished, and cried out, 'O Sir, what must we do ?' I said, 'We must pray.' Indeed, at that

By JOHN WESLEY (1703-1791), a clergyman of the Established Church and leader of the Methodist movement, the great event in the religious history of the eighteenth century. The opposition Methodism aroused was great. The Anglican Church refused to make room for it; the upper classes sneered, and the lower classes often attacked the leaders with violence.

time, to all appearance, our lives were not worth an hour's purchase. She asked, 'But, Sir, is it not better for you to hide yourself? To get into the closet?' I answered, 'No. It is better for me to stand just where I am.' Among those without, were the crews of some privateers, which were lately come into the harbor. Some of these, being angry at the slowness of the rest, thrust them away, and coming up altogether, set their shoulders to the inner door, and cried out, 'Avast, lads, avast!' away went all the hinges at once, and the door fell back into the room. I stepped forward at once into the midst of them and said, 'Here I am. Which of you has any thing to say to *me*? To which of you have I done any wrong? To you? Or you? Or you?' I continued speaking, till I came, bare-headed as I was (for I purposely left my hat, that they might all see my face) into the middle of the street, and then raising my voice, said, 'Neighbors, countrymen! Do you desire to hear me speak?' They cried vehemently, 'Yes, yes, he *shall* speak, he shall, nobody shall hinder him.' But having nothing to stand on, and no advantage of the ground, I could be heard by few only. However I spoke without intermission, and as far as the sound reached, the people were still; till one or two of their captains turned about and swore, 'Not a man should touch him.' Mr. Thomas, a clergyman, then came up, and asked, 'Are you not ashamed to use a stranger thus?' He was soon seconded by two or three gentlemen of the town, and one of the Aldermen; with whom I walked down the town speaking all the time, till I came to Mrs. Maddern's house. The gentlemen proposed sending for my horse to the door, and desired me to step in and rest the mean time. But on second thoughts, they judged it not adviseable to let me go out among the people again. So they chose to send my horse before me to Penryn, and to send me thither by water; the sea running close by the back door of the house in which we were.

I never saw before, no, not at Walsal itself, the hand of GOD so plainly shewn as here. There I had many companions, who were willing to die with me ; here not a friend, but one simple girl ; who likewise was hurried away from me in an instant, as soon as ever she came out of Mrs. B.'s door. There I received some blows, lost part of my cloaths, and was covered over with dirt. Here, although the hands of perhaps some hundreds of people were lifted up to strike or throw, yet they were one and all stopped in the mid-way, so that not a man touched me with one of his fingers. Neither was any thing thrown from first to last ; so that I had not even a speck of dirt on my cloaths. Who can deny, that GOD heareth the prayer? Or that he hath all power in heaven and earth?

I took boat at about half an hour past five. Many of the mob waited at the end of the town, who seeing me escaped out of their hands, could only revenge themselves with their tongues. But a few of the fiercest ran along the shore, to receive me at my landing. I walked up the steep, narrow passage from the sea, at the top of which the foremost man stood. I looked him in the face and said, 'I wish you a good night.' He spake not, nor moved hand or foot till I was on horseback. Then he said, 'I wish you was in hell ;' and turned back to his companions.

Extracts from the Journals of John Wesley (Boston, 1819), 212-215.

114. Winning the Degree of Bachelor of Arts (1780)

The youth whose heart pants for the honour of a Bachelor of Arts' degree must wait patiently till near four years have revolved. But this time is not to be spent idly. No ; he is obliged, during this period, once to oppose, and once to re-

By VICESIMUS KNOX (1752-1821), Oxford graduate and fellow of St. John's College, head master of Tunbridge School, and

writer of some note on educational subjects. During a residence of eight years at Oxford, Knox had abundant opportunity to observe the conditions that prevailed, and his statements are confirmed by the words of such men as Gibbon, Samuel Johnson, Lord Eldon.

Before the close of the century some reforms were brought about, due in part to the efforts of Knox, but as late as 1820 the University of Oxford dispensed with a whole term of academic study in honour of the coronation of George IV.

spond, in disputations held in the public schools — a formidable sound, and a dreadful idea ; but, on closer attention, the fear will vanish, and contempt supply its place.

This opposing and responding is termed, in the cant of the place, *doing generals*. Two boys, or men, as they call themselves, agree to *do generals* together. The first step in this mighty work is to procure arguments. These are always handed down, from generation to generation, on long slips of paper, and consist of foolish syllogisms on foolish subjects, of the formation or the signification of which the respondent and opponent seldom know more than an infant in swaddling clothes. The next step is to go for a *liceat* to one of the petty officers, called the Regent-Master of the Schools, who subscribes his name to the questions, and receives sixpence as his fee. When the important day arrives, the two doughty disputants go into a large dusty room full of dirt and cobwebs, with walls and wainscot decorated with the names of former disputants, who, to divert the tedious hours, cut out their names with their penknives, or wrote verses with a pencil. Here they sit in mean desks, opposite to each other, from one o'clock till three. Not once in a hundred times does any officer enter ; and, when he does, he hears one syllogism or two, and then makes a bow, and departs, as he came and remained, in solemn silence. The disputants then return to the amusement of cutting the desks, carving their names, or reading Sterne's Sentimental Journey, or some other edifying novel. When this exercise is duly performed by both parties, they have a right to the title and insignia of *Sophs* ; but not before they have been formally *created* by one of the regent-masters, before whom they kneel, while he lays a volume of Aristotle's works on their heads, and puts on a hood, a piece of black crape, hanging from their necks down to their heels ; which crape, it is expressly ordained by a statute in this case made and provided, shall be plain, and unadorned either with wool or with fur.

The next exercise is called *doing juraments*, which consists of just stepping into the school, and *proposing one syllogism*, for the sake of complying with the *letter of the statute*; and this *noble* exercise is termed *doing juraments*, which, being interpreted, signifies *the evading of one's oath*.

This work once done, a great progress is made towards the wished-for honour of a bachelor's degree. There remain only one or two trifling forms, and another disputation almost exactly similar to *doing generals*, but called *answering under bachelor*, previous to the awful examination.

Every candidate is obliged to be examined in the whole circle of the sciences by three masters of arts, *of his own choice*. The examination is to be held in one of the public schools, and to continue from nine o'clock till eleven. The masters take a most solemn oath, that they will examine properly and impartially. Dreadful as all this appears, there is always found to be more of appearance in it than reality; for the greatest dunce usually gets his *testimonium* signed with as much ease and credit as the finest genius. The manner of proceeding is as follows: The poor young man to be examined in the sciences often knows no more of them than his bedmaker, and the masters who examine are sometimes equally unacquainted with such mysteries. But *schemes*, as they are called, or little books, containing forty or fifty questions in each science, are handed down, from age to age, from one to another. The candidate to be examined employs three or four days in learning these by heart, and the examiners, having done the same before him when they were examined, know what questions to ask; and so all goes on smoothly. When the candidate has displayed his universal knowledge of the sciences, he is to display his skill in philology. One of the masters, therefore, desires him to construe a passage in some Greek or Latin classic, which he does with no interruption, just as he pleases, and as well as he can. The statutes next require, that he should translate familiar

English phrases into Latin. And now is the time when the masters shew their wit and jocularly. Droll questions are put on any subject, and the puzzled candidate furnishes diversion by his awkward embarrassment. I have known the questions on this occasion to consist of an enquiry into the pedigree of a race-horse. . . . This familiarity, however, only takes place when the examiners are pot-companions of the candidate, which indeed is usually the case; for it is reckoned good management to get acquainted with two or three jolly young masters of arts, and supply them well with port, previously to the examination. If the vice-chancellor and proctors happen to enter the school, a very uncommon event, then a little solemnity is put on, very much to the confusion of the masters as well as of the boy, who is sitting in the little box opposite to them. As neither the officer, nor any one else, usually enters the room (for it is reckoned very *ungenteel*), the examiners and the candidates often converse on the last drinking-bout, or on horses, or read the newspaper, or a novel, or divert themselves as well as they can in any manner, till the clock strikes eleven, when all parties descend, and the *testimonium* is signed by the masters. With this *testimonium* in his possession, the candidate is sure of success. The day in which the honour is to be conferred arrives; he appears in the Convocation-house, he takes an abundance of oaths, pays a sum of money in fees, and, after kneeling down before the vice-chancellor, and whispering a lie, rises up a Bachelor of Arts.

Vicesimus Knox, *Essays Moral and Literary* (London, 1803), II, 105-108.

CHAPTER XVIII—THE STRIFE FOR EMPIRE

115. The Battle of Blenheim (1704)

“August 13, 1704.—I have not time to say more, but to beg you will give my duty to the queen, and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp, Colonel Parke, will give her an account of what has passed. I shall do it in a day or two, by another more at large. — Marlborough.”

“Aug. 14.—Before the battle was quite done yesterday, I writ to my dearest soul to let her know that I was well, and that God had blessed her majesty’s arms with as great a victory as has ever been known; for prisoners I have the Marshal de Tallard, and the greatest part of his general officers, above 8000 men, and near 1500 officers. In short, the army of M. de Tallard, which was that which I fought with, is quite ruined; that of the elector of Bavaria and the Marshal de Marsin, which Prince Eugene fought against, I am afraid, has not had much loss, for I cannot find that he has many prisoners. As soon as the elector knew that Monsieur de Tallard was like to be beaten, he marched off, so that I came only time enough to see him retire. As all these prisoners are taken by the troops I command, it is in my power to send as many of them to England as her majesty shall think for her honour and service. My own opinion in this matter is, that the Marshal de Tallard, and the general officers, should be sent or brought to her majesty when I come to England; but should all the officers be brought, it would be a very great expense, and I

By JOHN CHURCHILL, EARL OF MARLBOROUGH. See No. 100. Blenheim was one of the great battles of English history, and gained for the victor the title of duke and splendid rewards in honours and money. The accompanying letters were written by Churchill to his wife. His devotion to her was one of his most attractive traits. The first note was written on a piece of paper, evidently torn from a memorandum book, and having on the back a bill of tavern expenses. — On Marlborough, see G. Saintsbury, *Marlborough*.

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think the honour is in having the marshal and such other officers as her majesty pleases. But I shall do in this, as in all things, that which shall be most agreeable to her. I am so very much out of order with having been seventeen hours on horseback yesterday, and not having been able to sleep above three hours last night, that I can write to none of my friends. However I am so pleased with this action, that I can't end my letter without being so vain as to tell my dearest soul, that within the memory of man there has been no victory so great as this; and as I am sure you love me entirely well, you will be infinitely pleased with what has been done, upon my account as well as the great benefit the public will have. For had the success of Prince Eugene been equal to his merit, we should in that day's action have made an end of the war."

"Steinheim, August 18. — I have been so very much out of order these four or five days, that I have been obliged this morning to be let blood, which I hope will set me right; for I should be very much troubled not to be able to follow the blow we have given, which appears greater every day than another, for we have now above 11,000 prisoners. I have also this day a deputation from the town of Augsburg, to let me know that the French were marched out of it yesterday morning, by which they have abandoned the country of Bavaria, so that the orders are already given for the putting a garrison into it. If we can be so lucky as to force them from Ulm, where they are now altogether, we shall certainly then drive them to the other side of the Rhine. After which we flatter ourselves that the world will think we have done all that could have been expected from us. This day the whole army has returned their thanks to Almighty God for the late success, and I have done it with all my heart; for never victory was so complete, notwithstanding that they were stronger than we, and very advantageously posted. But believe me, my dear soul, there was an absolute neces-

sity for the good of the common cause to make this venture, which God has so blessed. I am told the elector has sent for his wife and children to come to Ulm. If it be true, he will not then quit the French interest, which I had much rather he should do, if it might be upon reasonable terms ; but the Imperialists are for his entire ruin. My dearest life, if we could have another such a day as Wednesday last, I should then hope we might have such a peace as that I might enjoy the remaining part of my life with you. The elector has this minute sent a gentleman to me, I think only to amuse us ; we shall see the truth in a day or two, for we march to-morrow. The blood they have taken from me has done me a great deal of good, which is very necessary, for I have not time to be sick."

W. Coxe, *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1847), I, 206, 213, 214.

116. Walpole and the Colonies (1721)

My Lords and Gentlemen ;

. . . In this situation of affairs we should be extremely wanting to ourselves, if we neglected to improve the favourable opportunity, which this general tranquillity gives us, of extending our commerce, upon which the riches and grandeur of this nation chiefly depend. It is very obvious, that nothing would more conduce to the obtaining so public a good, than to make the exportation of our own manufactures, and the importation of the commodities used in the manufacturing of them, as practicable and easy as may be ; by this means, the balance of trade may be preserved in our favour, our navigation increased, and greater numbers of our poor employed.

By GEORGE I. The Royal Speech of 1721 was the inspiration of the king's chief minister, Sir Robert Walpole, one of the greatest masters of finance that England has ever had. It was remarkable as containing a clear and general expression of the more enlightened trade policy of three generations

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later. — On Walpole, see J. Morley, *Walpole*.

Walpole kept his word. In this session he secured the removal of export duties from 106 articles of British manufacture, and of import duties from 38 articles of raw material. A little later he followed up these measures by others tending to foster the rice and sugar trade of the American colonies.

I must therefore recommend it to you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to consider how far the Duties upon these branches may be taken off, and replaced, without any new violation of public faith, or laying any new burthen upon my people. And I promise myself, that by a due consideration of this matter, the produce of those duties, compared with the infinite advantages that will accrue to the kingdom by their being taken off, will be found so inconsiderable, as to leave little room for any difficulties or objections.

The supplying ourselves with Naval Stores, upon terms the most easy and least precarious, seems highly to deserve the care and attention of parliament. Our Plantations in America, naturally abound with most of the proper materials for this necessary and essential part of our trade and maritime strength; and if, by due encouragement, we could be furnished from thence with those naval stores, which we are now obliged to purchase, and bring from foreign countries, it would not only greatly contribute to the riches, influence and power of this nation, but, by employing our own colonies in this useful and advantageous service, divert them from setting up, and carrying on manufactures which directly interfere with those of Great Britain.

The King's Speech on opening the Session of Parliament, Oct. 19, 1721, Cobbett's Parliamentary History (London, 1811), VII, 912, 913.

By ROBERT CLIVE, later LORD CLIVE (1725-1774), founder of the British empire in India. In 1743 Clive entered the service of the

117. Plassey (1757)

I gave you an account of the taking of Chandernagore; the subject of this address is an event of much higher importance, no less than the entire overthrow of Nabob Suraj-u-Dowlah, and the placing of Meer Jaffier on the throne. I intimated, in my last, how dilatory Suraj-u-

Dowlah appeared in fulfilling the articles of the treaty. This disposition not only continued but increased, and we discovered that he was designing our ruin, by a conjunction with the French. To this end Monsieur Bussy was pressingly invited to come into this province, and Monsieur Law of Cossimbazar (who before had been privately entertained in his service) was ordered to return from Patna.

About this time some of his principal officers made overtures to us for dethroning him. At the head of these was Meer Jaffier, then Bukhshee to the army, a man as generally esteemed as the other was detested. As we had reason to believe this disaffection pretty general, we soon entered into engagements with Meer Jaffier to put the crown on his head. All necessary preparations being completed with the utmost secrecy, the army, consisting of about one thousand Europeans, and two thousand sepoys, with eight pieces of cannon, marched from Chandernagore on the 13th, and arrived on the 18th at Cutwa Fort, which was taken without opposition. The 22d, in the evening, we crossed the river, and landing on the island, marched straight for Plassey Grove, where we arrived by one in the morning. At daybreak, we discovered the Nabob's army moving towards us, consisting, as we since found, of about fifteen thousand horse, and thirty-five thousand foot, with upwards of forty pieces of cannon. They approached apace, and by six began to attack with a number of heavy cannon, supported by the whole army, and continued to play on us very briskly for several hours, during which our situation was of the utmost service to us, being lodged in a large grove, with good mud banks. To succeed in an attempt on their cannon was next to impossible, as they were planted in a manner round us, and at considerable distances from each other. We therefore remained quiet in our post, in expectation of a successful attack upon their camp at night. About noon, the enemy drew off their artillery, and retired

East India Company at Madras. His defence of Arcot, in 1751, imposed the first check upon the French advance in India, and formed "the turning-point in the Eastern career of the English." The victory which he won at Plassey over the native rulers established English influence in Bengal, marking the beginning of territorial conquest. "Clive was a great soldier, a great administrator, a born leader of his fellows. The bluntness of his moral perceptions prevented him from being a great man." Malleon. — For Clive, see Malleon, *Clive*.

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to their camp, being the same which Roy Dullub had left but a few days before, and which he had fortified with a good ditch and breast-work. We immediately sent a detachment, accompanied with two field-pieces, to take possession of a tank with high banks, which was advanced about three hundred yards above our grove, and from whence the enemy had considerably annoyed us with some cannon managed by Frenchmen. This motion brought them out a second time ; but on finding them make no great effort to dislodge us, we proceeded to take possession of one or two more eminences lying very near an angle of their camp, from whence, and an adjacent eminence in their possession, they kept a smart fire of musketry upon us. They made several attempts to bring out their cannon, but our advanced field-pieces played so warmly and so well upon them, that they were always drove back. Their horse exposing themselves a good deal on this occasion, many of them were killed, and among the rest four or five officers of the first distinction, by which the whole army being visibly dispirited and thrown into some confusion, we were encouraged to storm both the eminence and the angle of their camp, which were carried at the same instant, with little or no loss ; though the latter was defended (exclusively of blacks) by forty French and two pieces of cannon ; and the former by a large body of blacks, both foot and horse. On this, a general rout ensued, and we pursued the enemy six miles, passing upwards of forty pieces of cannon they had abandoned, with an infinite number of hackaries, and carriages filled with baggage of all kinds. Suraj-u-Dowlah escaped on a camel, and reaching Moorshedabad early next morning, despatched away what jewels and treasure he conveniently could, and he himself followed at midnight, with only two or three attendants.

"A species of
cart drawn
by a couple
of bullocks."
Malcolm.

It is computed there are killed of the enemy about five hundred. Our loss amounted to only twenty-two killed, and

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fifty wounded, and those chiefly blacks. During the warmest part of the action we observed a large body of troops hovering on our right, which proved to be our friends; but as they never discovered themselves by any signal whatsoever, we frequently fired on them to make them keep their distance. When the battle was over, they sent a congratulatory message, and encamped in our neighbourhood that night. The next morning Meer Jaffier paid me a visit, and expressed much gratitude at the service done him, assuring me, in the most solemn manner, that he would faithfully perform his engagement to the English. He then proceeded to the city, which he reached some hours before Suraj-u-Dowlah left it.

See No. 122.

Robert Clive, *Letter to the Directors of the East India Company*.
Malcolm, *Memoirs of Lord Clive* (London, 1836), I, 263-266.

118. The Battle of Quebec (1759)

On board the Sutherland, September 12.

“The enemy’s force is now divided, great scarcity of provisions now in their camp, and universal discontent among the Canadians; the second Officer in command is gone to Montreal or St. John’s, which gives reason to think, that General Amherst is advancing into the colony: *a vigorous blow struck by the army at this juncture may determine the fate of Canada*. Our troops below are in readiness to join us; all the light artillery and tools are embarked at the point of Levi, and the troops will land where the French seem least to expect it. The first body that gets on shore is to march directly to the enemy, and drive them from any little post they may occupy; the Officers must be careful that the succeeding bodies do not, by any mistake, fire upon those who go on before them. The battalions must form on the

Orders issued by General Wolfe the day before the battle upon the Plains of Abraham, and cited by Knox. — On Wolfe and the battle of Quebec, see Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*.

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upper ground with expedition, and be ready to charge whatever presents itself. When the artillery and troops are landed, a corps will be left to secure the landing-place, while the rest march on, and endeavour to bring the French and Canadians to a battle. *The Officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, is capable of doing, against five weak French battalions, mingled with disorderly peasantry.* The soldiers must be attentive and obedient to their Officers, and resolute in the execution of their duty."

Thursday, September 13, 1759. .

This extract is from the *Historical Journal of Captain John Knox*, an officer in the British navy, who took part in the assault on Quebec.

Before day-break this morning we made a descent upon the north shore, about half a quarter of a mile to the eastward of Sillery ; and the light troops were fortunately, by the rapidity of the current, carried lower down, between us and Cape Diamond ; we had, in this debarkation, thirty flat-bottomed boats, containing about sixteen hundred men. This was a great surprise on the enemy, who, from the natural strength of the place, did not suspect, and consequently were not prepared against, so bold an attempt. The chain of centries, which they had posted along the summit of the heights, galled us a little, and picked off several men, and some Officers, before our light infantry got up to dislodge them. This grand enterprise was conducted, and executed with great good order and discretion ; as fast as we landed, the boats put off for reinforcements, and the troops formed with much regularity : the General, with Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were a-shore with the first division. We lost no time here, but clambered up one of the steepest precipices that can be conceived, being almost a perpendicular, and of an incredible height. As soon as we gained the summit, all was quiet, and not a shot was heard, owing to the excellent conduct of the light infantry under Colonel

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Howe ; it was by this time clear day-light. Here we formed again, the river and the south country in our rear, our right extending to the town, our left to Sillery, and halted a few minutes. The General then detached the light troops to our left to route the enemy from their battery, and to disable their guns, except they could be rendered serviceable to the party who were to remain there ; and this service was soon performed. We then faced to the right, and marched towards the town by files, till we came to the plains of Abraham ; an even piece of ground which Mr. Wolfe had made choice of, while we stood forming upon the hill. Weather showery : about six o'clock the enemy first made their appearance upon the heights, between us and the town ; whereupon we halted, and wheeled to the right, thereby forming the line of battle. . . . The enemy had now likewise formed the line of battle, and got some cannon to play on us, with round and canister-shot ; but what galled us most was a body of Indians and other marksmen they had concealed in the corn opposite to the front of our right wing, and a coppice that stood opposite to our center, inclining towards our left ; but the Colonel Hale, by Brigadier Monckton's orders, advanced some platoons, alternately, from the forty-seventh regiment, which, after a few rounds, obliged these skulkers to retire : we were now ordered to lie down, and remained some time in this position. About eight o'clock we had two pieces of short brass six-pounders playing on the enemy, which threw them into some confusion, and obliged them to alter their disposition, and Montcalm formed them into three large columns ; about nine the two armies moved a little nearer each other. The light cavalry made a faint attempt upon our parties at the battery of Sillery, but were soon beat off, and Monsieur de Bougainville, with his troops from Cape Rouge, came down to attack the flank of our second line, hoping to penetrate there ; but, by a masterly disposition of Brigadier Townshend, they were forced to

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desist, and the third battalion of Royal Americans was then detached to the first ground we had formed on after we gained the heights, to preserve the communication with the beach and our boats. About ten o'clock the enemy began to advance briskly in three columns, with loud shouts and recovered arms, two of them inclining to the left of our army, and the third towards our right, firing obliquely at the two extremities of our line, from the distance of one hundred and thirty —, until they came within forty yards; which our troops withstood with the greatest intrepidity and firmness, still reserving their fire, and paying the strictest obedience to their Officers: this uncommon steadiness, together with the havoc which the grape-shot from our field-pieces made among them, threw them into some disorder, and was most critically maintained by a well-timed, regular, and heavy discharge of our small arms, such as they could no longer oppose; hereupon they gave way, and fled with precipitation, so that, by the time the cloud of smoke was vanished, our men were again loaded, and, profiting by the advantage we had over them, pursued them almost to the gates of the town, and the bridge over the little river, redoubling our fire with great eagerness, making many Officers and men prisoners. The weather cleared up, with a comfortably warm sun-shine: the Highlanders chased them vigorously towards Charles's river, and the fifty-eighth to the suburb close to John's gate, until they were checked by the cannon from the two hulks; at the same time a gun, which the town had brought to bear upon us with grape-shot, galled the progress of the regiments to the right, who were likewise pursuing with equal ardour, while Colonel Hunt Walsh, by a very judicious movement, wheeled the battalions of Bragg and Kennedy to the left, and flanked the coppice where a body of the enemy made a stand, as if willing to renew the action; but a few platoons from these corps completed our victory. Then it was that Brigadier

Townshend came up, called off the pursuers, ordered the whole line to dress, and recover their former ground. Our joy at this success is inexpressibly damped by the loss we sustained of one of the greatest heroes which this or any other age can boast of, — GENERAL JAMES WOLFE, who received his mortal wound, as he was exerting himself at the head of the grenadiers of Louisbourg.

. . . The Sieur de Montcalm died late last night ; when his wound was dressed, and he settled in bed, the Surgeons who attended him were desired to acquaint him ingenuously with their sentiments of him, and being answered that his wound was mortal, he calmly replied, 'he was glad of it : ' his Excellency then demanded, — whether he could survive it long, and how long? He was told 'about a dozen hours, perhaps more, peradventure less.' 'So much the better,' rejoined this eminent warrior ; 'I am happy I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec.' . . .

After our late worthy General, of renowned memory, was carried off wounded to the rear of the front line, he desired those who were about him to lay him down ; being asked if he would have a Surgeon he replied, 'it is needless ; it is all over with me.' One of them cried out, 'They run, see how they run.' 'Who runs?' demanded our hero with great earnestness, like a person aroused from sleep. The Officer answered, 'The Enemy, Sir ; Egad, they give way everywhere.' Thereupon the General rejoined, '*Go one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton — ; tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles's river, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge.*' Then, turning on his side, he added, '*Now, God be praised, I will die in peace ;*' and thus expired. . . .

Captain John Knox, *Historical Journal* (London, 1769), II, 66-79.

119. A Word of Warning (1775)

By WILLIAM
PITT, EARL
OF CHATHAM

(1708-1778),
statesman.

In 1735 Pitt entered Parliament, representing the family borough of Old Sarum, and at once joined the opposition to Walpole.

The outbreak of the Seven Years' War brought Pitt to the front, and he quickly proved himself the greatest war minister that England had ever had.

"The great Commoner was the first Englishman of his time, and he made England the first country in the world," Macaulay.

His last years were marked by his efforts to prevent by conciliation the dismemberment of the empire which he, more than any other man, had helped establish. This extract is from a

"But his Majesty is advised, that the union in America cannot last! Ministers have more eyes than I, and should have more ears; but with all the information I have been able to procure, I can pronounce it an union, solid, permanent, and effectual. Ministers may satisfy themselves, and delude the public, with the report of what they call commercial bodies in America. They are *not* commercial; they are your packers and factors: they live upon nothing—for I call commission nothing. I mean the ministerial *authority* for this American intelligence; the runners for government, who are paid for their intelligence. But these are not the men, nor this the influence, to be considered in America, when we estimate the firmness of their union. Even to extend the question, and to take in the really mercantile circle, will be totally inadequate to the consideration. Trade indeed increases the wealth and glory of a country; but its real strength and stamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land: in their simplicity of life is found the simpleness of virtue—the integrity and courage of freedom. These true genuine sons of the earth are invincible: and they surround and hem in the mercantile bodies; even if these bodies, which supposition I totally disclaim, could be supposed disaffected to the cause of liberty. Of this general spirit existing in the British nation (for so I wish to distinguish the real and genuine Americans from the pseudo-traders I have described) — of this spirit of independence, animating the *nation* of America, I have the most authentic information. It is not new among them; it is, and has ever been, their established principle, their confirmed persuasion: it is their nature, and their doctrine.

"I remember, some years ago, when the repeal of the stamp-act was in agitation, conversing in a friendly confi-

dence with a person of undoubted respect and authenticity on that subject ; and he assured me with a certainty which his judgment and opportunity gave him, that these were the prevalent and steady principles of America — that you might destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniences, of life ; but that they were prepared to despise your power, and would not lament their loss, whilst they have — what, my Lords? — their *woods* and their *liberty*. The name of my authority if I am called upon, will authenticate the opinion irrefragably.

“ If illegal violences have been, as it is said, committed in America, prepare the way, open the door of possibility, for acknowledgment and satisfaction : but proceed not to such coercion, such proscription ; cease your indiscriminate inflictions ; amerce not thirty thousand ; oppress not three millions, for the fault of forty or fifty individuals. Such severity of injustice must for ever render incurable the wounds you have already given your colonies ; you irritate them to unappeasable rancour. What though you march from town to town, and from province to province ; though you should be able to enforce a temporary and local submission, which I only suppose, not admit — how shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you in your progress, to grasp the dominion of eighteen hundred miles of continent, populous in numbers, possessing valour, liberty, and resistance ?

“ This resistance to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen : it was obvious from the nature of things, and of mankind, above all, from the Whiggish spirit flourishing in that country. The spirit which now resists your taxation in America is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money, in England : the same spirit which called all England *on its legs*, and by the Bill of Rights vindicated the English constitution : the same spirit which established the great fundamental, essen-

speech made in the House of Lords on the 20th of January in support of a motion for the removal of General Gage's forces from Boston as a first step towards conciliation. — On Chatham see Macaulay, *Essays*.

It was Dr. Franklin.

tial maxim of your liberties, *that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent.*

“This glorious spirit of Whiggism animates three millions in America ; who prefer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains and sordid affluence ; and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as freemen. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breasts of every Whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers? Ireland they have to a man. In that country, joined as it is with the cause of the colonies, and placed at their head, the distinction I contend for is and must be observed. This country superintends and controls their trade and navigation ; but they *tax themselves*. And this distinction between external and internal control is sacred and insurmountable ; it is involved in the abstract nature of things. Property is private, individual, absolute. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration : it reaches as far as ships can sail or winds can blow : it is a great and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of its several parts, and combine them into effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power in the empire. But this supreme power has no effect towards internal taxation ; for it does not exist in that relation ; there is no such thing, *no such idea in this constitution, as a supreme power operating upon property*. Let this distinction then remain for ever ascertained ; taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As an American, I would recognise to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation : as an Englishman by birth and principle, I recognise to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property ; a right which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity. To maintain this principle is the common cause of the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic, and on this. ‘Tis liberty to liberty engaged,’ that they will defend them-

selves, their families, and their country. In this great cause they are immovably allied: it is the alliance of God and nature — immutable, eternal — fixed as the firmament of heaven. . . .

“ I trust it is obvious to your Lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental *nation*, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall be *forced ultimately to retract*; let us retract while we can, not when we must. I say we must necessarily undo these violent oppressive acts: *they must be repealed — you will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them; I stake my reputation on it; — I will consent to be taken for an idiot, if they are not finally repealed.* — Avoid, then, this humiliating, disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace and happiness: for *that* is your true dignity, to act with prudence and justice. That *you* should first concede is obvious, from sound and rational policy. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power; it reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men; and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude. . . .

See p. 311.

“ Every motive, therefore, of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America — by a removal of your troops from Boston — by a repeal of your acts of parliament — and by demonstration of amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures. — Foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread: France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors; — with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.

The motion was lost by a vote of 68-18.

The Duke of Cumberland, brother of George III, voted with the minority.

"To conclude, my Lords : If the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say, that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm, *that they will make the crown not worth his wearing* — I will not say that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce, *that the kingdom is undone.*"

Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham (London, 1840), IV, 380-384.

By EDWARD GIBBON

(1737-1794), historian, best remembered for his monumental work, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman*

Empire. He sat in Parliament for a few years at the time of the troubles with the American colonies, and gave his support to the Tory side. He spent the last years of his life in Switzerland, watching with dismay the developments in France.

The accompanying extracts are from letters

120. A Great Historian and the Outbreak of the American Revolution (1775)

Jan. 31st, 1775.

Sometimes people do not write because they are too idle, and sometimes because they are too busy. The former was usually my case, but at present it is the latter. The fate of Europe and America seems fully sufficient to take up the time of one Man; and especially of a Man who gives up a great deal of time for the purpose of public and private information. I think I have sucked Mauduit and Hutcheson very dry; and if my confidence was equal to my eloquence, and my eloquence to my knowledge, perhaps I might make no very intolerable Speaker. . . . For my own part, I am more and more convinced that we have both the right and the power on our side, and that, though the effort may be accompanied with some melancholy circumstances, we are now arrived at the decisive moment of persevering, or of losing for ever both our Trade and Empire. We expect next Thursday or Friday to be a very great day. . . . Our general divisions are about 250 to 80 or 90.

A PAGE OF THE ORIGINAL DRAFT OF LORD CHATHAM'S "PROVISIONAL
THE HOUSE OF LORDS"

And for the free grant of
the ~~proposed~~ by an act
and ~~be always~~ under
and ~~being~~ expected not
and ~~much~~ of deep love
as a condition of
as a friend of ~~affection~~

"How near this measure lay to the great statesman's heart may be
fac-simile of a page of the original draft in Chatham's own hand, from

—H. HALL.

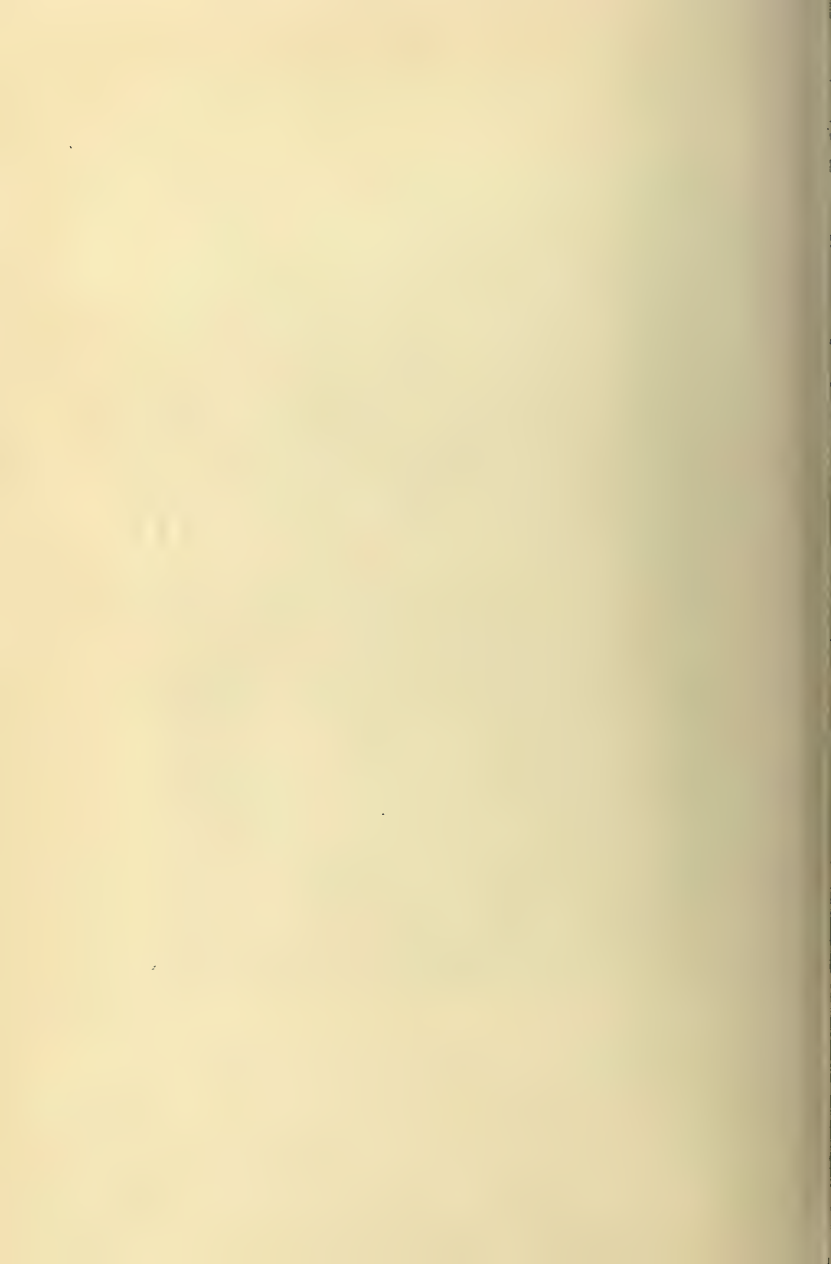
This fac-simile is from an article on "Chatham's Colonial Policy,"

ACT FOR SETTLING THE TROUBLES IN AMERICA," INTRODUCED IN
FEBRUARY 1, 1775.

The free grant
by report- being understood,
before required. ~~being understood,~~
always understood that they
of a copy by ~~the~~ from the colonies
before required is
free grant not tax paid.
It is not the grant as a ~~grant~~
to be enjoyed as a ~~grant~~
of ~~the~~ but as the ~~grant~~
of ~~the~~ ~~grant~~.

aged from an examination of the passage which is shown in the plate, a
ch the painful care bestowed upon the drafting of this bill is apparent."

Mr. Hubert Hall, American Historical Review, July, 1900.



Wednesday Evening (February 8th, 1775).

I am not damned, according to your charitable wishes, because I have not acted ; there was such an inundation of speakers, young Speakers in every sense of the word, both on Thursday in the Grand Committee, and Monday on the report to the house, that neither Lord George Germaine nor myself could find room for a single word. The principal men both days were Fox and Wedderburne, on the opposite sides ; the latter displayed his usual talents. The former taking the vast compass of the question before us, discovered powers for regular debate, which neither his friends hoped, nor his Enemies dreaded. We voted an address (304 to 105), of lives and fortunes, declaring Massachusetts Bay in a state of rebellion. More troops, but I fear not enough, go to America, to make an army of 10,000 men at Boston ; three Generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. In a few days we stop the ports of New England. I cannot write Volumes : but I am more and more convinced, that with firmness all may go well ; yet I sometimes doubt Lord N[orth]. . . .

addressed to John Holroyd, later Earl of Sheffield.

Israel Mauduit, agent for Massachusetts.

Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts.

15th May, 1775.

Returned this moment from an American debate. A Remonstrance and Representation from the Assembly of New York, presented and feebly introduced by Burke, but most forcibly supported by Fox. They disapprove of the violence of their neighbours, acknowledge the necessity of some dependence on Parliament with regard to Commercial restraints and express some affection and moderation ; but they claim internal taxation, state many grievances and formally object to the declaratory Act. On the last ground it was impossible to receive it. Division 186 to 67. The House tired and languid. In this season and on America, the Archangel Gabriel would not be heard. On Thursday

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Reference to
*The Decline
and Fall of
the Roman
Empire*, on
which he was
at work.

an attempt to repeal the Quebec bill, and then to the right about, and for myself, having supported the British, I must destroy the Roman Empire. . . .

May 30th, 1775.

You will probably see in the Papers, the Boston Gazette Extraordinary. I shall therefore mention a few circumstances which I have from Governor Hutchinson.

That Gazette is the only account arrived. As soon as the business was over the Provincial Congress dispatched a vessel with the news for the good people of England. The vessel was taken up to sail instantly at a considerable loss and expence, as she went without any lading but her ballast. No other letters were allowed to be put on board, nor did the crew know their destination till they were on the Banks of Newfoundland. The Master is a man of character and moderation, and from his mouth the following particulars have been drawn. *Fides sit penes auctorem.*

It cannot fairly be called a defeat of the King's troops ; since they marched to Concord, destroyed or brought away the stores, and then returned back. They were so much fatigued with their day's work (they had marched above thirty miles) that they encamped in the evening at some distance from Boston without being attacked in the night. It can hardly be called an engagement, there never was any large body of Provincials. Our troops during the march and retreat were chiefly harrassed by flying parties from behind the stone walls along the road and by many shots from the windows as they passed through the villages. It was then they were guilty of setting fire to some of those hostile houses. Ensign Gould had been sent with only twelve men to repair a wooden bridge for the retreat ; he was attacked by the Saints with a minister at their head, who killed two men and took the Ensign with the others prisoners. The next day the Country rose. When the

Master came away he says that Boston was invested by a camp of about fifteen hundred tents. They have canon. Their General is a Colonel Ward, a member of the late Council, and who served with credit in the last War. His outposts are advanced so near the town that they can talk to those of General Gage.

This looks serious, and is indeed so. But the Governor observed to me that the month of May is the time for sowing Indian corn, the great sustenance of the Province, and that unless the Insurgents are determined to hasten a famine, they must have returned to their own habitations: especially as the restraining act (they had already heard of it) cuts off all foreign supply, which indeed generally become necessary to the Province before Winter. Adieu.

June the 17th, 1775.

I have not courage to write about America. We talk familiarly of Civil War, Dissolutions of Parliament, Impeachments and Lord Chatham. The boldest tremble, the most vigorous talk of peace. And yet no more than sixty-five rank and file have been killed. Governor H[utchinson] assures me that Gage has plenty of provisions fresh and salted, flour, fish, vegetables, &c.: *hopes* he is not in danger of being forced —

August 1st, 1775.

We have nothing new from America. But I can venture to assure you, that administration is now as unanimous and decided as the occasion requires. Something will be done this year; but in the spring the force of the country will be exerted to the utmost. Scotch highlanders, Irish papists, Hanoverians, Canadians, Indians, &c. will all in various shapes be employed. Parliament meets the first week in November. . . .

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October 14th, 1775.

Apropos of that Contest, I send you two pieces of intelligence from the best authority, and which, unless you hear them from some other quarter, *I do not wish you should talk much about.* 1st. When the Russians arrive, (if they refresh themselves in England or Ireland,) will you go and see their Camp? We have great hopes of getting a body of these Barbarians. In consequence of some very plain advances, George, with his own hand, wrote a very polite Epistle to sister Kitty, requesting her friendly assistance. Full powers and instructions were sent at the same time to Gunning, to agree for any force between five and twenty thousand men, *Carte blanche* for the terms; on condition, however, that they should serve, not as Auxiliaries, but as Mercenaries, and that the Russian General should be absolutely under the command of the British. They daily and hourly expect a Messenger, and hope to hear that the business is concluded. The worst of it is, that the Baltic will soon be froze up, and that it must be late next year before they can get to America. 2nd. In the mean time we are not quite easy about Canada; and even if it should be safe from an attack, we cannot flatter ourselves with the expectation of bringing down that martial people on the back settlements. The priests are ours; the Gentlemen very prudently wait the event, and are disposed to join the stronger party; but the same lawless spirit and impatience of Government which has infected our Colonies, is gone forth among the Canadian Peasants, over whom, since the Conquest, the Noblesse have lost much of their ancient influence. Another thing which will please and surprize, is the assurance I receive from a Man who might tell me a lye, but who could not be mistaken, that no arts, no management whatsoever have been used to procure the *Addresses which fill* the Gazette, and that Lord N[orth] was as much surprized at the first that came up, as we could

Empress
Catherine of
Russia.

Sir Robert
Gunning,
British envoy
at St. Peters-
burg.

Walpole
maintained

A Confession of Defeat 359

be at Sheffield. We shall have, I suppose, some brisk skirmishing in Parliament, but the business will soon be decided by our superior weight of fire. A *propos*, I believe there has been some vague but serious conversation about *calling out the Militia*. The new Levies go on very slowly in Ireland. The Dissenters, both there and here, are violent and active. . . .

that these addresses, asking the king to prosecute the war with vigour, were bought.

31st October, 1775.

. . . We have a warm Parliament but an indolent Cabinet. The *Conquest of America* is a *great Work*: every part of that Continent is either lost or useless. I do not understand that we have sufficient strength at home: the German succours are insufficient, *and the Russians are no longer hoped for*. . . .

Edward Gibbon, *Private Letters of Edward Gibbon* (edited by R. E. Prothero, London, 1896), I, 247-272 *passim*.



121. A Confession of Defeat (1782)

My Lords and Gentlemen;

Since the close of the last session, I have employed my whole time in that care and attention which the important and critical conjuncture of affairs required of me.

I lost no time in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting, as my inclination will always lead me to do, with decision and effect, whatever I collect to be the sense of my parliament and my people; I have pointed all my views and measures as well in Europe as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with those colonies.

The ministry responsible for this Royal Speech was that of Lord Shelburne, the same ministry that negotiated the treaties which closed the wars of the American Revolution.

Burke criticised this expression as ascribing to a resolution of the House of Commons

what was "clearly the hand of Providence in a severe punishment of our conduct." He also ridiculed the reference to monarchy, comparing it to a man's opening the door after he had left a room and saying, "At our parting, pray let me recommend a monarchy to you."

Finding it indispensable to the attainment of this object, I did not hesitate to go the full length of the powers vested in me, and offered to declare them free and independent states, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Provisional articles are agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace shall be finally settled with the court of France.

In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own, to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire; and, that America may be free from those calamities, which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion—language—interest—affections may, and I hope will yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries: to this end, neither attention nor disposition on my part, shall be wanting. . . .

King's Speech on opening the Session, December 5, 1782, Parliamentary History (London, 1814), XXIII, 204-207.

By JOSEPH PRICE "A free merchant of Bengal."

122. A Criticism of the English Policy in India (1783)

On India, see Lyall, *British Dominion in India*; Seeley, *Expansion of England*. Also No. 144.

The first taste of fame and conquest, which the English officers enjoyed in India, happened on the coast of Coromandel, where the great Clive, and his able master in the art of war, Major-General Lawrence, made the English name terrible. This was soon after followed by the conquest of all the forts and harbours of the pirate Angria, on the Mala-

bar coast. Yet we made conquests rather as auxiliaries, than as principals in the wars ; for the Nabobs of Arcot enjoyed the advantages of the first, and the Poonah Mahrattas of the last. Some prize money was made, but no territory held, which produced any thing further than some advantages in trade ; and a few districts pawned or pledged to us, for certain sums advanced, the revenue of which was to reimburse the Company for the expences of the war. Perhaps it would have been as well, if we could have tied ourselves down always to have acted in the same manner, and never lost sight of our first profession of merchants. But armies once raised must be paid ; and the sword once drawn, no man hath hitherto been able to foretel, when, or how, it should again become sheathed, in any period of time, or in any part of the world. We won a rich and extensive continent in the east, as it were by surprise, between the years 1756 and 1763 ; and we lost another in the west, by means as sudden and unexpected, between the years 1776 and 1783. . . .

There has been something extremely singular and ridiculous, in the whole conduct of the English government, with respect to Bengal. If ever the national banner was displayed in a just and honourable war, that with Surajah ul Dowlah was such ; and by the law of nations, to retain conquests acquired in such a war, has hitherto been deemed lawful and right. But the English seem to have been terrified at the idea of their own success. They conquer a country in self defence, which they hesitate to keep, and want resolution to give up. Create a Nabob, to whom they give a kingdom, and become themselves his pensioners ; but finding their idol a compound of tyrannic knave, and despicable fool, they make him a pensioner in his turn, to his son-in-law, Cossim Ally Cawn ; but soon after finding Cossim to be all knave without a particle of fool in his composition, they wish his removal. But had he not been a most dastardly coward, he would have

See No. 117.

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convinced his makers, that he could do without them, and have driven them out of the kingdom to the south, instead of suffering them to drive him to the north. Embarrassed by their own policy, they saw no remedy, but again to fall down and worship the old calf, which they had a second time set up. Meer Jaffier died, and they recognized their sovereign in his second son : and things were running on in the old absurd channel of a double government, when Lord Clive arrived, who reversed the system ; instead of continuing the Company pensioners to the Nabob, he made the Nabob a pensioner to the Company. The power now was all their own ; but they wanted to hide it from the world, so played the Nabob off as the Punch of the puppet shew. This absurd policy, I have heard, was dictated to Lord Clive by the *Ministry*, to avoid involving the nation in disputes with the other European powers, whose subjects were settled in Bengal.

Joseph Price, *The Saddle put on the Right Horse* (London, 1783), 7, 8, 47, 48.

CHAPTER XIX—THE GREAT WAR

123. Burke and the French Revolution (1791)

MR. BURKE commenced his reply in a grave and governed tone of voice, observing that although he had himself been called to order so many times, he had sat with perfect composure, and had heard the most disorderly speech that perhaps ever was delivered in that House. . . . The right hon. gentleman in the speech he had just made had treated him in every sentence with uncommon harshness. . . . Notwithstanding this great and serious, though, on his part, unmerited attack and attempt to crush him, he would not be dismayed ; he was not yet afraid to state his sentiments in that House, or any where else, and he would tell all the world that the constitution was in danger.

And here he must, in the most solemn manner, express his disapprobation of what was notorious to the country and to the world. Were there not clubs in every quarter, who met and voted resolutions of an alarming tendency? Did they not correspond, not only with each other in every part of the kingdom, but with foreign countries? Did they not preach in their pulpits doctrines that were dangerous, and celebrate at their anniversary meetings, proceedings incompatible with the spirit of the British constitution? Admitting these things to be true—and he believed no one would say his assertions were ill-founded—would they hesitate a moment to pronounce such transactions dangerous to the constitution, and extremely mischievous in their nature? In addition to these, were not infamous libels against the constitution

ANONYMOUS. On Burke, see No. 106. From the outset Burke shared neither the enthusiasm nor the indifference of his countrymen towards the revolutionary proceedings in France. Finally, in November, 1790, he published the *Reflections on the French Revolution*, the manifesto of the reaction. In speech and pamphlet he sounded the alarm that the Church and the Constitution were in danger. The Whig party was broken up, the privileged classes, the pious, the timid, rallied to Burke's standard, and gradually the com-

bination forced Pitt into war. The debate, from which the following extract is taken, was on the Canada Constitution bill. In the course of the debate Fox referred with approval to the new French Constitution, and attacked the *Reflections*.

The reference is to the Revolution Society founded to commemorate the Revolution of 1688. At a recent anniversary Dr. Price, a well-known Unitarian preacher, had extolled the movement in France.

circulated everywhere at a considerable expense? The malignity with which the right hon. gentleman had spoken of his sentiments, with regard to government, and the charge he had brought against him of inconsistency in his political life and opinions, were neither fair nor true; for he denied that he ever entertained any ideas of government, different from those which he now entertained, and had upon many occasions stated. He laid it down as a maxim that monarchy was the basis of all good government and the nearer to monarchy any government approached, the more perfect it was, and vice versa; and he certainly in his wildest moments, never had so far forgotten the nature of government as to argue that we ought to wish for a constitution that we could alter at pleasure and change like a dirty shirt. He was by no means anxious for a monarchy with a dash of republicanism to correct it. But the French constitution was the exact opposite of the English in every thing, and nothing could be so dangerous as to set it up to the view of the English, to mislead and debauch their minds. . . .

He said that he had already stated, that he believed those who entertained doctrines which he dreaded as dangerous to the constitution, to be a very small number indeed. But if the spirit were suffered to ferment, who could tell what might happen? Let it be remembered, that there were 300,000 men in arms in France, who at a favourable moment might be ready to assist that spirit. . . .

It certainly was indiscretion, at any period, but especially at his time of life, to provoke enemies, or give his friends occasion to desert him; yet if his firm and steady adherence to the British constitution placed him in such a dilemma, he would risk all; and as public duty and public prudence taught him, with his last words exclaim "Fly from the French constitution." [Mr. Fox here whispered, "that there was no loss of friends."] Mr. Burke said Yes, there

Fox and Burke had been friends

was a loss of friends — he knew the price of his conduct — he had done his duty at the price of his friend — Their friendship was at an end. . . .

for twenty-two years. Henceforth they never met, save as enemies.

Pitt and Fox

Before he sat down, he earnestly warned the two right hon. gentlemen who were the great rivals in that House, that whether they hereafter moved in the political hemisphere as two flaming meteors, or walked together like brethren hand in hand, to preserve and cherish the British constitution, to guard against innovation, and to save it from the danger of those new theories.

Parliamentary History (London, 1817), XXIX, 379-388.

124. The Birmingham Riots (1791)

“Hotel, Birmingham, July 7, 1791.

“Commemoration of the French Revolution.

“A number of gentlemen intend dining together on the 14th instant, to commemorate the auspicious day which witnessed the emancipation of twenty-six millions of people from the Yoke of Despotism, and restored the blessings of equal Government to a truly great and enlightened nation, with whom it is our interest, as a commercial people, and our duty, as friends to the general rights of mankind, to promote a free intercourse, as subservient to a permanent friendship.

“Any friend to freedom disposed to join this intended temperate festivity, is desired to leave his name at the Bar of the Hotel, where tickets may be had at five shillings each, including a bottle of wine; but no person will be admitted without one. Dinner will be on the table at 3 o'clock precisely.”

These two advertisements appeared in a Birmingham paper, and are cited by Hutton.

The 14th of July was the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille.

"On Friday next will be published, price one half-penny, an Authentic List of all those who dine at the Hotel, in Temple Row, Birmingham, on Thursday, the 14th instant, in Commemoration of the French Revolution. *Vivant Rex et Regina.*"

By WILLIAM HUTTON (1723-1815), local historian and topographer. Hutton was a Dissenter, and a man of much influence in Birmingham, where he had amassed a large fortune in the paper-trade.

The fatal 14th of July was now arrived, a day that will mark Birmingham with disgrace for ages to come. The laws had lost their protection, every security of the inhabitants was given up, the black fiends of hell were whistled together and let loose for unmerited destruction. She has reason to keep *that* anniversary in sackcloth and ashes. About eighty persons of various denominations dined together at the hotel. During dinner, which was short, perhaps from three to five o'clock, the infant mob, collected under the auspices of a few in elevated life, began with hooting, crying "*Church and King*," and broke the hotel windows. . . .

Dr. Priestley, Unitarian clergyman and scientist. He was one of those who planned the fatal dinner, but he was not present.

It was now between eight and nine; the numbers of the mob were increased, their spirits were inflamed. Dr. Priestley was sought for, but he had not dined at the hotel. The magistrates, who had dined at the Swan, a neighbouring tavern, by way of counterbalance, huzzaed *Church and King*, waving their hats, which inspired fresh vigour into the mob, so that they verily thought, and often declared, they acted with the *approbation* at least of the higher powers, and that what they did was right. The windows of the hotel being broken, a gentleman said, "You have done mischief enough *here*, go to the Meetings." A simple remark, and almost without precise meaning, but it involved a dreadful combination of ideas. There was no need to say, "Go and burn the Meetings." The mob marched down Bull Street under the smiles of magistrates. . . .

Dr. Priestley's chapel.

The New Meeting was broken open without ceremony, the pews, cushions, books, and pulpit were dashed to pieces,

and in half an hour the whole was in a blaze, while the savage multitude rejoiced at the view. . . .

The Old Meeting was the next mark of the mob. This underwent the fate of the New: and here again a system seems to have been adopted, for the engines were suffered to play upon the adjoining houses to prevent their taking fire, but not upon the Meeting House, which was levelled with the ground.

The mob then undertook a march of more than a mile, to the house of Dr. Priestley, which was plundered and burnt without mercy, the Doctor and his family barely escaping. Exclusive of the furniture, a very large and valuable library was destroyed, the collection of a long and assiduous life.

But the greatest loss that Dr. Priestley sustained was in the destruction of his philosophical apparatus, and his remarks. These can never be replaced. I am inclined to think he would not have destroyed his apparatus and manuscripts for any sum of money that could have been offered him. His love to man was great, his usefulness greater. I have been informed by the faculty that his experimental discoveries on air, applied to medical purposes, have preserved the lives of thousands; and, in return, he can scarcely preserve his own. . . .

A little later Dr. Priestley left England and went to America.

Breaking the windows of this hotel, burning the two Meeting Houses, and Dr. Priestley's, finished the dreadful work of Thursday night. To all this I was a perfect stranger, for I had left the town early in the evening, and slept in the country.

When I arose the next morning, July 15, my servant told me what had happened. I was inclined to believe it only a report: but coming to the town, I found it a melancholy truth, and matters wore an unfavourable aspect, for one mob cannot continue long inactive, and there were two or three floating up and down, seeking whom they might

devour, though I was not under the least apprehension of danger to myself. The affrighted inhabitants came in bodies to ask my opinion. As the danger admitted of no delay, I gave this short answer — “Apply to the magistrates, and request four things: to swear in as many constables as are willing, and arm them; to apply to the commanding officer of the recruiting parties for his assistance; to apply to Lord Beauchamp to call out the militia in the neighbourhood; and to write to the Secretary of War for a military force.” What became of my four hints is uncertain, but the result proved they were lost. . . .

It never appeared when the military force was sent for, but I believe about noon this day. The express, however, did not arrive in London till the next, at two in the afternoon. What could occasion this insufferable neglect, or why the Riot Act was omitted to be read sooner, I leave to the magistrates. Many solicitations were made to the magistrates for assistance to quell the mob, but the answer was, “*Pacific measures are adopted.*” Captain Archibald, and Lieutenants Smith and Maxwell, of recruiting parties, offered their service; still the same answer. A gentleman asked if he might arm his dependents? “The hazard will be yours.” Again, whether he might carry a brace of pistols in his own defence? “If you kill a man you must be responsible.” . . .

All business was now at a stand. The shops were shut. The town prison and that of the Court of Requests were thrown open, and their strength was added to that of their deliverers. Some gentlemen advised the insurgents assembled in New Street to disperse; when one, whom I well knew, said, “Do not disperse, they want to sell us. If you will pull down Hutton’s house I will give you two guineas to drink, for it was owing to him I lost a cause in the Court.” The bargain was instantly struck, and my building fell.

About three o’clock they approached me. I expostulated

with them. "They would have money." I gave all I had, even to a single halfpenny, which one of them had the meanness to take. They wanted more, "nor would they submit to this treatment," and began to break the windows, and attempted the goods. I then borrowed all I instantly could, which I gave them, and shook a hundred hard and black hands. "We will have some drink." "You shall have what you please if you will not injure me." I was then seized by the collar on both sides, and hauled a prisoner to a neighbouring public-house, where, in half an hour, I found an ale-score against me of 329 gallons. . . .

Nevertheless Hutton's house was destroyed.

About five this evening, Friday, I had retreated to my house at Bennet's Hill, where, about three hours before, I had left my afflicted wife and daughter, and had seen a mob at Mr. Jukes's house in my road. I found that my people had applied to a neighbour to secure some of our furniture, who refused; to a second, who consented; but another shrewdly remarking that he would run a hazard of having his own house burnt, a denial was the consequence. A third request was made, but cut short with a *No*. The fourth man consented, and we emptied the house into his house and barn. Before night, however, he caught the terror of the neighbourhood, and ordered the principal part of the furniture back, and we were obliged to obey. . . .

Burning Mr. Ryland's house at Easy Hill, Mr Taylor's at Bordesley, and the destruction of mine at Birmingham, were the work of Friday the 15th.

Saturday the 16th was ushered in with fresh calamities to myself. The triumphant mob, at four in the morning, attacked my premises at Bennet's Hill, and threw out the furniture I had tried to save. It was consumed in three fires, the marks of which remain, and the house expired in one vast blaze. The women were as alert as the men. . . .

The house of Thomas Russell, Esq., and that of Mr. Hawkes, at Moseley-Wake Green, were . . . attacked. They

were plundered and greatly injured, but not burnt. To be a Dissenter was a crime not to be forgiven, but a rich Dissenter merited the extreme of vengeance. . . .

As riches could not save a man, neither could poverty. The mob next fell upon a poor, but sensible Presbyterian parson, the Rev. John Hobson, of Balsall Heath, and burnt his all.

From the house of Mr. Hobson, the intoxicated crew proceeded to that of William Piddock, at King's Heath, inhabited by an inoffensive blind man, John Harwood, a Baptist; and this ended their work on Saturday the 16th, in which were destroyed *eight* houses, exclusive of Mr. Coates's, which was plundered and damaged.

Some of the nobility, justices, and gentlemen, arrived this day, sat in council, drank their wine, harangued the mobs, wished them to desist, told them what mischief they had done, which they already knew; and that they had done enough, which they did not believe; but not one word of fire-arms, a fatal proof that *pacific measures* were adopted. To tell a mob "They have done enough," supposes that something ought to have been done. A clear ratification of part at least of their proceedings.

William Hutton, *A Narrative of the Riots in Birmingham* (L. Jewitt, *The Life of William Hutton*, London, 1872, 221-236).

By CHARLES
JAMES FOX
(1749-1806),
statesman.
At the age of
nineteen Fox
entered Par-
liament, and
according to
Burke, be-
came soon
"the most

125. Opposition to the French War (1800)

. . . Sir, this temper must be corrected. It is a diabolical spirit, and would lead to interminable war. Our history is full of instances that where we have overlooked a proffered occasion to treat, we have uniformly suffered by delay. At

what time did we ever profit by obstinately persevering in war? We accepted at Ryswick the terms we had refused five years before, and the same peace which was concluded at Utrecht might have been obtained at Gertruydenberg. And as to security from the future machinations or ambition of the French, I ask you, what security you ever had or could have? Did the different treaties made with Louis XIV. serve to tie up his hands, to restrain his ambition, or to stifle his restless spirit? At what period could you safely repose in the honour, forbearance, and moderation of the French government? Was there ever an idea of refusing to treat because the peace might be afterwards insecure? The peace of 1763 was not accompanied with securities; and it was no sooner made than the French court began, as usual, its intrigues. And what security did the right hon. gentleman exact at the peace of 1783, in which he was engaged? Were we rendered secure by that peace? The right hon. gentleman knows well that soon after that peace, the French formed a plan, in conjunction with the Dutch, of attacking our Indian possessions, of raising up the native powers against us, and of driving us out of India; as the French are desirous of doing now — only with this difference, that the cabinet of France entered into this project in a moment of profound peace, and when they conceived us to be lulled into perfect security. After making the peace of 1783, the right hon. gentleman and his friends went out, and I, among others, came into office. Suppose, Sir, that we had taken up the jealousy upon which the right hon. gentleman now acts, and had refused to ratify the peace which he had made. Suppose that we had said, “No; France is acting a perfidious part — we see no security for England in this treaty — they want only a respite in order to attack us again in an important part of our dominions; and we ought not to confirm the treaty.” I ask, would the right hon. gentleman have supported us in this

brilliant and accomplished debater the world ever saw.” Whenever he thought he saw wrong he made war upon it. He espoused the cause of the American colonists, he supported the anti-slavery movement, he hailed the French Revolution with enthusiasm. This extract is taken from a speech in opposition to the rejection of the French overtures of peace. — On Fox, see Trevelyan, *Life of Charles James Fox and The American Revolution.*

refusal? I say, that upon his present reasoning he ought ; but I put it fairly to him, would he have supported us in refusing to ratify the treaty upon such a pretence? He certainly ought not, and I am sure he would not, but the course of reasoning which he now assumes would have justified his taking such a ground. On the contrary, I am persuaded that he would have said — “This is a refinement upon jealousy. Security ! You have security, the only security that you can ever expect to get. It is the present interest of France to make peace. She will keep it if it be her interest : she will break it if it be her interest : such is the state of nations ; and you have nothing but your own vigilance for your security.”

“It is not the interest of Bonaparte,” it seems, “sincerely to enter into a negociation, or, if he should even make peace, sincerely to keep it.” But how are we to decide upon his sincerity? By refusing to treat with him? Surely, if we mean to discover his sincerity, we ought to hear the propositions which he desires to make. “But peace would be unfriendly to his system of military despotism.” Sir, I hear a great deal about the short-lived nature of military despotism. I wish the history of the world would bear gentlemen out in this description of military despotism. Was not the government erected by Augustus Cæsar a military despotism? And yet it endured for six or seven hundred years. Military despotism, unfortunately, is too likely in its nature to be permanent, and it is not true that it depends on the life of the first usurper. Though half the Roman emperors were murdered, yet the military despotism went on ; and so it would be, I fear, in France. If Bonaparte should disappear from the scene, to make room, perhaps, for a Berthier, or any other general, what difference would that make in the quality of French despotism or in our relation to the country? We may as safely treat with a Bonaparte or with any of his successors, be they who they

may, as we could with a Louis XVI., a Louis XVII., or a Louis XVIII. There is no difference but in the name. Where the power essentially resides, thither we ought to go for peace.

But, Sir, if we are to reason on the fact, I should think that it is the interest of Bonaparte to make peace. A lover of military glory, as that general must necessarily be, may he not think that his measure of glory is full — that it may be tarnished by a reverse of fortune, and can hardly be increased by any new laurels? He must feel, that, in the situation to which he is now raised, he can no longer depend on his own fortune, his own genius, and his own talents, for a continuance of his success; he must be under the necessity of employing other generals, whose misconduct or incapacity might endanger his power, or whose triumphs even might affect the interest which he holds in the opinion of the French. Peace, then, would secure to him what he has achieved, and fix the inconstancy of fortune. But this will not be his only motive. He must see that France also requires a respite — a breathing interval, to recruit her wasted strength. To procure her this respite would be, perhaps, the attainment of more solid glory, as well as the means of acquiring more solid power, than any thing which he can hope to gain from arms and from the proudest triumphs. May he not then be zealous to gain this fame, the only species of fame, perhaps, that is worth acquiring? Nay, granting that his soul may still burn with the thirst of military exploits, is it not likely that he is disposed to yield to the feelings of the French people, and to consolidate his power by consulting their interests? I have a right to argue in this way, when suppositions of his insincerity are reasoned upon on the other side. Sir, these aspersions are, in truth, always idle, and even mischievous. I have been too long accustomed to hear imputations and calumnies thrown out upon great and honourable characters, to be much influenced

by them. My honourable and learned friend (Mr. Erskine) has paid this night a most just, deserved and honourable tribute of applause to the memory of that great and unparalleled character who has been so recently lost to the world. I must, like him, beg leave to dwell a moment on the venerable George Washington, though I know that it is impossible for me to bestow anything like adequate praise on a character which gave us, more than any other human being, the example of a perfect man ; yet, good, great, and unexampled as General Washington was, I can remember the time when he was not better spoken of in this House than Bonaparte is now. The right hon. gentleman who opened this debate (Mr. Dundas) may remember in what terms of disdain, of virulence, and even of contempt, General Washington was spoken of by gentlemen on that side of the House. Does he not recollect with what marks of indignation any member was stigmatized as an enemy to his country, who mentioned with common respect the name of General Washington? If a negociation had then been proposed to be opened with that great man, what would have been said? "Would you treat with a rebel, a traitor ! What an example would you not give by such an act !" I do not know whether the right hon. gentleman may not yet possess some of his old prejudices on the subject. I hope not. I hope by this time we are all convinced that a republican government, like that of America, may exist without danger or injury to social order or to established monarchies. They have happily shown that they can maintain the relations of peace and amity with other states : they have shown, too, that they are alive to the feelings of honour ; but they do not lose sight of plain good sense and discretion. They have not refused to negotiate with the French, and they have accordingly the hopes of a speedy termination of every difference. We cry up their conduct, but we do not imitate it. At the beginning of the struggle we were told that the

The Battle of Waterloo 375

French were setting up a set of wild and impracticable theories, and that we ought not to be misled by them — we could not grapple with theories. Now we are told that we must not treat, because, out of the lottery, Bonaparte has drawn such a prize as military despotism. Is military despotism a theory? One would think that that is one of the practical things which ministers might understand, and to which they would have no particular objection. But what is our present conduct founded on but a theory, and that a most wild and ridiculous theory? What are we fighting for? Not for a principle; not for security; not for conquest even; but merely for an experiment and a speculation, to discover whether a gentleman at Paris may not turn out a better man than we now take him to be. . . .

On the final division the vote stood 265 for, and 64 against, rejection.

Charles James Fox, *Speeches* (London, 1815), VI, 414-417.

126. The Battle of Waterloo (1815)

NIVELLES, June 19th, 1815.

I congratulate you as heartily as I know you would me on the glorious (though dearly earned) laurels of yesterday; a day which will always stand proudly pre-eminent in the annals of the British army. A more desperate, and probably a more important, battle for the interest of Europe has hardly occurred even during the great events of the last three campaigns. Never were the scientific and determined efforts of Buonaparte more devoutly seconded than by the magnificent army with which he attacked yesterday the apparently motley crew under the *now* unrivalled Wellington. His despatch will put you so much more fully in possession of all the details than I have either at present time or powers of doing, that I cannot attempt more than

By CAPTAIN,
later GEN-
ERAL SIR
GEORGE
BOWLES,
Coldstream
Guards.
This extract
is from a
letter written
to Lord Fitz-
Harris.

a few particulars. The well-combined and rapid movements of the enemy on the 13th and 14th brought on an affair at Quatre-Bras (a small village on the high road between this place and Namur) on the 16th, in which the Duke of Brunswick was killed; and in which, owing to none of our cavalry being up, we fought at considerable disadvantage, and nothing, I am convinced, but British infantry would have maintained the ground and thus prevented a complete separation of the Prussians and ourselves, an object which Napoleon at one time flattered himself he had fully accomplished. Our loss was severe, and fell heavy on the 1st brigade of Guards, who under Maitland behaved admirably. We (the Coldstream) were hardly engaged, but our opportune arrival saved the day. You may guess how unexpected this business was, when you know that the Duke, Lord Uxbridge, &c., were at a ball at Brussels till near one o'clock on the morning of the 16th. I did not leave the said ball till past two, and since that have not even washed my face or taken off my boots. You may, therefore, easily conceive the state in which I am writing this, in a coffee-room as full as possible of every nation under heaven, and a perfect resemblance of the Tower of Babel. But to proceed. The unfortunate result of a charge of cavalry, made after dark on the night of the 16th by the enemy on the Prussian centre, obliged Blücher to retrograde on the following day, and we of course did the same, and retired in regular order to the position in rear of Genappe, called, I think, 'Les hauteurs de St. Jean,' having our right thrown back towards Braine la Leude, and the commencement of the forêt de Soignies in our rear. Napoleon followed this movement with the whole of his cavalry and pressed ours very hard. The Life Guards, however, did well. The weather was extremely bad, we passed the time wet through and up to our middle in mud. The Prussians promised to be in line on our left by eleven

o'clock, and to attack the enemy the instant we were seriously engaged. The morning turned out tolerably fine, and was spent by Buonaparte in reviewing and haranguing his army. He promised every species of reward to all who distinguished themselves, confessed that the fate of the campaign and of France depended on the issue of that day's exertion.

He promised Ney to sup with him at Brussels, and certainly no person ever tried harder to keep his word.

The position we occupied was a good but not by any means a particularly strong one; indeed, the nature of the country is such as to preclude the possibility of it. The most important point to hold was a farmhouse called Hougoumont, a little advanced on the right, and the maintenance of this part, which was ordered to be defended *coûte que coûte*, was confided to our brigade. About twelve o'clock the attack commenced on this point, directed by Napoleon, Soult, and Ney, the whole army having been previously almost paraded as if to bully us.

It probably consisted of upwards of 100,000 of his best troops, and I should conceive assisted by 200 pieces of artillery. From that time till past seven o'clock an incessant and most determined effort was made to carry the house and court with which it was surrounded, but in vain. Although it was set on fire and nearly burnt to the ground, we maintained our charge, and most dearly did the enemy pay, as well as ourselves, for the obstinacy of the contest.

About two o'clock a grand affair of cavalry took place on the left of our line, in which the Life Guards again distinguished themselves most gloriously, and all appeared to be going on most happily; although the non-arrival of the Prussians enabled the enemy to bring all his forces against us, and as he nearly doubled our numbers, it was evidently a ticklish moment. Fully aware of this, Buonaparte deter-

mined on one of those grand efforts with which he has so often decided the fate of nations; he brought forward the whole of his artillery, and under cover of the most tremendous cannonade I ever witnessed formed his cavalry into masses and the whole of the *élite* of his Guards, reserves, &c., and made a most determined and nearly successful attack on our centre. Our cavalry was driven to the rear of our infantry, and all our advanced artillery taken.

It was this moment, however, which showed the steadiness of British troops, and their confidence in their commander in its fullest light. Every battalion was in an instant in square and advanced by echelon to recover the guns. The French cavalry charged repeatedly with a desperation perhaps never before equalled, but not one square was ever shaken. On arriving at almost the line previously occupied by their cavalry the French masses of infantry appeared, and it then became necessary for some battalions to deploy, although almost surrounded by the French cavalry.

This state of things lasted for nearly an hour, during which the conflict was often extremely doubtful; but at length we restored everything to its original state, the artillery which was lost was retaken, and order re-established. The cannonade continued tremendous till about half-past six o'clock, when Napoleon again assembled *la Vieille Garde*, harangued them, and putting himself at their head, led them forward in different columns against our battalions still formed in squares. The first brigade of Guards advanced to meet the leading division, and poured in so well-directed a fire as literally to make a chasm in it. For a short time the fire of musketry was really awful, and proved too much for even these hitherto deemed invincibles; they gave way in every direction, and at this critical moment the Prussians arrived on our left, and their cavalry

and light artillery put the finishing stroke to this eventful day.

Letters of the First Earl of Malmesbury, etc. (edited by the Earl of Malmesbury, London, 1870), II, 440-444.

To Marshal Lord Beresford, G.C.B. :

You will have heard of our battle of the 18th. Never did I see such a pounding match. Both were what the boxers call “gluttons.” Napoleon did not manœuvre at all. He just moved forward in the old style in columns, and was driven off in the old style. The only difference was, that he mixed cavalry with his infantry, and supported both with an enormous quantity of artillery.

I had the infantry for some time in squares, and I had the French cavalry walking about as if they had been our own. I never saw the British infantry behave so well.

WELLESLEY.

Wellington, *Selected Despatches*.

By ARTHUR
WELLESLEY,
Lord, later
DUKE OF
WELLING-
TON.
See No. 129.

127. “The Pilot that Weathered the Storm” (1817)

O, dread was the time, and more dreadful the omen,
When the brave on Marengo lay slaughter'd in vain,
And beholding broad Europe bow'd down by her foemen,
PITT closed in his anguish the map of her reign!
Not the fate of broad Europe could bend his brave spirit
To take for his country the safety of shame;
O, then in her triumph remember his spirit,
And hallow the goblet that flows to his name.

By SIR WAL-
TER SCOTT
(1771-1832),
poet and
novelist.
This song
voices the
national
feeling of
gratitude to
Pitt, “the
pilot who
weathered
the storm.”—
On Pitt, see
Lord Rose-
bery, *Pitt*.

Round the husbandman's head while he traces the furrow
The mists of the winter may mingle with rain.
He may plough it with labour and sow it in sorrow,
And sigh while he fears he has sow'd it in vain;
He may die ere his children shall reap in their gladness;
But the blithe harvest-home shall remember his claim;
And their jubilee-shout shall be soften'd with sadness,
While they hallow the goblet that flows to his name.

Though anxious and timeless his life was expended,
In toils for our country preserved by his care,
Though he died ere one ray o'er the nations ascended,
To light the long darkness of doubt and despair;
The storms he endured in our Britain's December,
The perils his wisdom foresaw and o'ercame,
In her glory's rich harvest shall Britain remember,
And hallow the goblet that flows to his name.

For the anniversary meeting of the Pitt Club of Scotland, 1817.
Sir Walter Scott, *Poetical Works* (Boston, 1857), 6, 263, 264.

CHAPTER XX—POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

128. The Clare Election (1828)

IRISH affairs have gone on from bad to worse ever since the summer. *The Clare election began a new era, and was an epoch in the history of Ireland.* O'Connell did not at first mean to stand himself, but no eligible Protestant candidate could be found; and as all the landholders, with scarcely an exception, were for Fitzgerald, nothing perhaps but the influence of O'Connell as a candidate could have carried the point. The event was dramatic and somewhat sublime. The Prime Minister of England tells the Catholics, in his speech in the House of Lords, that if they will only be perfectly quiet for a few years, cease to urge their claims, and let people forget the question entirely, then, after a few years, perhaps *something may be done for them.* They reply to this advice, within a few weeks after it is given, by raising the population of a whole province like one man, keeping them within the strictest obedience to the law, and, by strictly legal and constitutional means, hurling from his seat in the representation one of the Cabinet Ministers of the King. There were thirty thousand Irish peasants in and about Ennis in sultry July, and not a drunken man among them, or only one, and he an Englishman and a Protestant, and O'Connell's own coachman, whom O'Connell had committed, upon his own deposition, for a breach of the peace. No Irishman ever stirs a mile from his house without a stick; not a stick was to be

By HENRY JOHN TEMPLE, VISCOUNT PALMERSTON (1784-1865). Palmerston entered Parliament in 1807 as member for the pocket borough of Newtown, whose owner made it a condition that candidates should "never set foot in the place." In 1809 he took office. At his death, in 1865, he was for a second time prime minister. He began life as a Tory, but gradually worked over to the Whigs. His chief interest was in foreign affairs, and for more than a generation he shaped England's policy in the direction of intervention and aggression.

At this time Roman Catholics could vote, but could not sit in the House of Commons. Fitzgerald,

member for Clare, having accepted office, was forced to seek re-election. He was defeated by O'Connell, the great agitator, who, as a Catholic, could not sit. The next year Wellington carried through a Catholic Relief Bill, declaring it was a choice between Emancipation and Civil War.

Lord Anglesey was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

seen at the election. One hundred and forty priests were brought from other places to harangue the people from morning to night, and to go round to the several parishes to exhort and bring up voters. The Government were not idle or unprepared. Lord Anglesey told me he had seven thousand regulars, all out of sight, but within a short distance of Ennis, and capable of being brought to bear upon it, in case of disturbance, in a few hours. All passed off quietly; but the population of the adjoining counties was on the move, and large bodies had actually advanced in echelon as it were, closing in upon Ennis, the people of one village going on to the next, and those of that next advancing to a nearer station, and so on; and thus, had anything produced a collision, the bloodshed would have been great and the consequences extensive. . . .

Lord Palmerston, *Journal* (Sir H. L. Bulwer, *Life of Viscount Palmerston*, I, 306, 307, London, 1870).

129. Wellington and Parliamentary Reform (1830)

By ARTHUR WELLESLEY, DUKE OF WELLINGTON (1769-1852), the victor at Waterloo. Wellington's splendid services in the war with Napoleon made him, for the rest of his life, the first of Englishmen. In 1818 he entered the ministry. He was

. . . This subject brings me to what noble Lords have said respecting the putting the country in a state to overcome the evils likely to result from the late disturbances in France. The noble Earl has alluded to the propriety of effecting Parliamentary Reform. The noble Earl has, however, been candid enough to acknowledge that he is not prepared with any measure of reform, and I can have no scruple in saying that his Majesty's Government is as totally unprepared with any plan as the noble Lord. Nay, I on my own part, will go further, and say, that I have never read or heard of any measure up to the present moment which can in any degree satisfy my mind that the

state of the representation can be improved, or be rendered more satisfactory to the country at large than at the present moment. I will not, however, at such an unseasonable time, enter upon the subject, or excite discussion, but I shall not hesitate to declare unequivocally what are my sentiments upon it. I am fully convinced that the country possesses at the present moment a Legislature which answers all the good purposes of legislation, and this to a greater degree than any Legislature ever has answered in any country whatever. I will go further and say, that the Legislature and the system of representation possess the full and entire confidence of the country—deservedly possess that confidence—and the discussions in the Legislature have a very great influence over the opinions of the country. I will go still further, and say, that if at the present moment I had imposed upon me the duty of forming a Legislature for any country, and particularly for a country like this, in possession of great property of various descriptions, I do not mean to assert that I could form such a Legislature as we possess now, for the nature of man is incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but my great endeavour would be, to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results. The representation of the people at present contains a large body of the property of the country, and in which the landed interests have a preponderating influence. Under these circumstances, I am not prepared to bring forward any measure of the description alluded to by the noble Lord. I am not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but I will at once declare that as far as I am concerned, as long as I hold any station in the government of the country, I shall always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others.

House of Lords, *Debate on the King's Speech*, Nov. 2, 1830
(Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, I, 52, 53).

strongly Tory in his convictions, the champion of the aristocracy, and opposed every concession to the demands of the reform party. — On the conditions of Parliamentary representation, see Nos. 104, 107, 109.

"The noble Earl" = Earl Grey.

November 16 the ministry was defeated on a side issue and went out, afraid to face the demand for reform.

For Lord Aberdeen, see No. 141.

When the Duke resumed his seat, he turned to Lord Aberdeen, who sat beside him, and said: 'I have not said too much, have I?' Lord Aberdeen put his chin forward, with a gesture habitual to him when much moved, and only replied: 'You'll hear of it!' After leaving the House he was asked what the Duke had said. 'He said that we were going out,' was the reply.

Sir Arthur Gordon, *Earl of Aberdeen* (London, 1893), 104.

By HENRY, BARON BROUGHAM (1778-1868), Lord Chancellor of England. Brougham belonged to the advanced wing of the Whig party. He was one of the founders of the *Edinburgh Review*, a supporter of the anti-slavery agitation, and a vigorous opponent to the Orders in Council, which led to the war with the United States in 1812. He was excessively vain, and apt to exaggerate the impor-

130. Dissolution of Parliament (1831)

. . . Then, said I, let us go in to the King. Grey and I went in, and stated our clear opinion that it would be necessary for him to go in person, though we were most unwilling to give him that trouble. I took care to make him understand the threatened proceedings of the Lords, and the effect the proposed motion for an address was intended to have on his Majesty's proroguing Parliament. He fired up at this — hating dissolution, perhaps, as much as ever, but hating far more the interference with, or attempt to delay, the exercise of the prerogative; and so he at once agreed to go, only saying that all must be done in the usual manner; and he mentioned several things which he said could not be got ready in time, for it was little more than one hour off, the House meeting at two o'clock. The sword of state and cap of maintenance were mentioned by him; and we told him that Lord Grey would carry the one, and somebody else the other. But, said he, the troops; there is no time for ordering them, and it is impossible to go without them. I had foreseen this difficulty; and on ascertaining that the Life Guards — the regi-

ment usually in attendance on such an occasion — were quartered at some distant barrack (I think it was Knightsbridge), sent to the Horse Guards for such men as happened to be there. On the King making the observation about the troops, I said, "I hoped his Majesty would excuse the great liberty I had taken; but being quite certain he would graciously accede to our request, I had sent to the Horse Guards for an escort to be ready at half-past one." He said, "Well, that was a strong measure," or "a strong thing to do." I believe I had prepared him for this by a little more apology and explanation than is mentioned above; but he ever after, when in very good humour, used to remind me of what he called my high treason. He then spoke of the Lord Steward as being required; but we had sent to summon him. Then Albemarle, the Master of the Horse, was out of the way, and when found, said it would not be possible to get the state carriages ready in time; but the King said he was determined to go, and that anything would do. There was a story about London that he had said to Lord Albemarle he would go in a hackney-coach rather than not go at all. I cannot say whether this is true or not — all I can say is, that I do not recollect hearing it; but this I do know, that he had become so eager to go, that no trifle would have stopped him. The draft of the Speech was then submitted to him, and approved, with a sentence which I prefixed with my own hand; and as I had a secretary in the adjoining room, a fair copy was made for the Council which was then held, that it might be read and approved in form.

Having to go home in order to dress, the gold gown being required, I got to the House soon after two o'clock, the hour to which we had adjourned; and after prayers I left the Woolsack, in order that I might be in readiness to receive his Majesty. Lord Shaftesbury, on the motion of Lord Mansfield, then took the Woolsack, and Wharncliffe

tance of the part which he played. Hence his account of what he did at the time of the important dissolution of 1831 must be accepted with caution. — See Greville, *Memoirs*.

On March 21 the first Reform Bill passed the second reading in the Commons by a majority of 1 in a House of 608.

Further advance was blocked by a strong opposition.

Thereupon the ministry, sure of popular support, determined to appeal to the nation.

The result of the election was that the new House of Commons passed the second Reform Bill by a majority of 109.

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An address
against a
dissolution.

rose to move the address of which he had given notice. Then began a scene which, as it was represented to me, was never exceeded in violence and uproar by any bear-garden exhibition. The Duke of Richmond, interrupting Wharncliffe, moved that the Lords take their seats in their proper places; for, said he, I see a junior baron (Lyndhurst) sitting on the Dukes' bench. Lyndhurst, starting up, exclaimed that Richmond's conduct was most disorderly, and *shook his fist at him*. This brought up Londonderry, who did not speak, but screamed that the noble Duke, in his attempt to stop Wharncliffe, had resorted to a wretched shift. Wharncliffe then began by reading the words of his motion. I was here told by Durham what was going on, and that unless the King came soon the Lords would vote the address, because Wharncliffe meant to make no speech; so I rushed back into the House, and began by exclaiming against the unheard-of doctrine that the Crown ought not to dissolve at a moment when the House of Commons had refused the supplies. This was loudly denied, but I persisted that the vote I referred to had in fact that effect. I went on purposely speaking until we heard the guns. Then came great interruptions and cries of order, which continued until a messenger summoned me, when I said I had the King's commands to attend him in the Painted Chamber. Shaftesbury again took the Woolsack, and they continued debating until the procession entered. When the door was thrown open, the King asked me "What noise that was?" and I answered, "If it please your Majesty, it is the Lords debating." He asked if we should stop, but was told that all would be silent the moment he entered. The Commons were summoned in the usual way; and, having received the Speech, he read it with a clear and firm voice. I doubt if any part of it was listened to beyond the first sentence, prefixed to the draft, and which I alone had any hand in writing: "I

Announcing
the approach
of the king.

am come to meet you for the purpose of proroguing this Parliament, with a view to its *immediate* dissolution." . . .

Lord Brougham, *The Life and Times of Lord Brougham* (London, 1871), III, 115-118.

131. A Chartist Petition (1838)

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, the Petition of the undersigned their suffering countrymen,

Humbly Sheweth, —

That we, your petitioners, dwell in a land whose merchants are noted for their enterprise, whose manufacturers are very skilful, and whose workmen are proverbial for their industry. The land itself is goodly, the soil rich, and the temperature wholesome. It is abundantly furnished with the materials of commerce and trade. It has numerous and convenient harbours. In facility of internal communication it exceeds all others. For three and twenty years we have enjoyed a profound peace. Yet, with all the elements of national prosperity, and with every disposition and capacity to take advantage of them, we find ourselves overwhelmed with public and private suffering. We are bowed down under a load of taxes, which, notwithstanding, fall greatly short of the wants of our rulers. Our traders are trembling on the verge of bankruptcy; our workmen are starving. Capital brings no profit, and labour no remuneration. The home of the artificer is desolate, and the warehouse of the pawnbroker is full. The workhouse is crowded, and the manufactory is deserted. We have looked on every side; we have searched diligently in order to find out the causes of distress so sore and so long con-

By the COUNCIL OF THE BIRMINGHAM UNION. The extravagant hopes founded upon the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 were doomed to disappointment. Many reforms were brought about, but with the exception of the new Poor Law little was done to remedy social evils. A few men took up the question of the conditions of labour (see No. 134). The middle classes gave their strength to securing the repeal of the Corn Laws (see No. 135). The expression of the discontent of the working

classes was
the Chartist
movement.

tinued. We can discover none in nature or in Providence. Heaven has dealt graciously by the people, nor have the people abused its grace, but the foolishness of our rulers has made the goodness of God of none effect. The energies of a mighty kingdom have been wasted in building up the power of selfish and ignorant men, and its resources squandered for their aggrandisement. The good of a part has been advanced at the sacrifice of the good of the nation. The few have governed for the interest of the few, while the interests of the many have been sottishly neglected, or insolently and tyrannously trampled upon. It was the fond expectation of the friends of the people that a remedy for the greater part, if not for the whole of their grievances, would be found in the Reform Act of 1832. They regarded that Act as a wise means to a worthy end, as the machinery of an improved legislation, where the will of the masses would be at length potential. They have been bitterly and basely deceived. The fruit which looked so fair to the eye, has turned to dust and ashes when gathered. The Reform Act has effected a transfer of power from one domineering faction to another, and left the people as helpless as before. Our slavery has been exchanged for an apprenticeship to liberty, which has aggravated the painful feelings of our social degradation, by adding to them the sickening of still deferred hope. We come before your honourable house to tell you, with all humility, that this state of things must not be permitted to continue. That it cannot long continue, without very seriously endangering the stability of the throne, and the peace of the kingdom, and that if, by God's help, and all lawful and constitutional appliances, an end can be put to it, we are fully resolved that it shall speedily come to an end. We tell your honourable house, that the capital of the master must no longer be deprived of its due profit; that the labour of the workman must no longer be deprived of

its due reward. That the laws which make food dear, and the laws which make money scarce, must be abolished. That taxation must be made to fall on property, not on industry. That the good of the many, as it is the only legitimate end, so must it be the sole study of the government. As a preliminary essential to these and other requisite changes — as the means by which alone the interests of the people can be effectually vindicated and secured, we demand that those interests be confided to the keeping of the people. When the State calls for defenders, when it calls for money, no consideration of poverty or ignorance can be pleaded in refusal or delay of the call. Required, as we are universally, to support and obey the laws, nature and reason entitle us to demand that in the making of the laws the universal voice shall be implicitly listened to. We perform the duties of freemen; we must have the privileges of freemen. Therefore, we demand universal suffrage. The suffrage, to be exempt from the corruption of the wealthy and the violence of the powerful, must be secret. The assertion of our right necessarily involves the power of our uncontrolled exercise. We ask for the reality of a good, not for its semblance, therefore we demand the ballot. The connection between the representatives and the people, to be beneficial, must be intimate. The legislative and constituent powers, for correction and for instruction, ought to be brought into frequent contact. Errors which are comparatively light, when susceptible of a speedy popular remedy, may produce the most disastrous effects when permitted to grow inveterate through years of compulsory endurance. To public safety, as well as public confidence, frequent elections are essential. Therefore, we demand annual parliaments. With power to choose, and freedom in choosing, the range of our choice must be unrestricted. We are compelled by the existing laws, to take for our representa-

tives men who are incapable of appreciating our difficulties, or have little sympathy with them; merchants who have retired from trade and no longer feel its harassings; proprietors of land who are alike ignorant of its evils and its cure; lawyers by whom the notoriety of the senate is courted only as a means of obtaining notice in the courts. The labours of a representative who is sedulous in the discharge of his duty are numerous and burdensome. It is neither just, nor reasonable, nor safe, that they should continue to be gratuitously rendered. We demand that in the future election of members of your honourable house, the approbation of the constituency shall be the sole qualification, and that to every representative so chosen, shall be assigned out of the public taxes, a fair and adequate remuneration for the time which he is called upon to devote to the public service. The management of this mighty kingdom has hitherto been a subject for contending factions to try their selfish experiments upon. We have felt the consequences in our sorrowful experience. Short glimmerings of uncertain enjoyment, swallowed up by long and dark seasons of suffering. If the self-government of the people should not remove their distresses, it will, at least, remove their repinings. Universal suffrage will, and it alone can, bring true and lasting peace to the nation; we firmly believe that it will also bring prosperity. May it therefore please your honourable house, to take this our petition into your most serious consideration, and to use your utmost endeavours, by all constitutional means, to have a law passed, granting to every male of lawful age, sane mind, and unconvicted of crime, the right of voting for members of parliament, and directing all future elections of members of parliament to be in the way of secret ballot, and ordaining that the duration of parliament, so chosen, shall in no case exceed one year, and abolishing all property qualifications in the members, and providing for their

These are five of the so-called Six Points of the Charter, one, equal representation, is

due remuneration while in attendance on their parliamentary duties.

“And your petitioners shall ever pray.”

First Petition of the United Chartists (R. G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement*, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1894, 87-90).

omitted.
At the present time the first, second, and fourth may be said to have been secured.

132. Home Rule for Ireland (1886)

. . . This is the earliest moment in our Parliamentary history when we have the voice of Ireland authentically expressed in our hearing. Majorities of Home Rulers there may have been upon other occasions; a practical majority of Irish Members never has been brought together for such a purpose. Now, first, we can understand her; now, first, we are able to deal with her; we are able to learn authentically what she wants and wishes, what she offers and will do; and as we ourselves enter into the strongest moral and honourable obligations by the steps which we take in this House, so we have before us practically an Ireland under the representative system able to give us equally authentic information, able morally to convey to us an assurance the breach and rupture of which would cover Ireland with disgrace. . . . What is the case of Ireland at this moment? Have hon. Gentlemen considered that they are coming into conflict with a nation? Can anything stop a nation's demand, except its being proved to be immoderate and unsafe? But here are multitudes, and, I believe, millions upon millions, out-of-doors, who feel this demand to be neither immoderate nor unsafe. In our opinion, there is but one question before us about this demand. It is as to the time and circumstance of granting it. There is no question in our minds that it will be

By WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE (1809-1898), one of the greatest of England's statesmen. He entered political life in 1833 in the first reformed Parliament. In the beginning he was counted "the rising hope of the stern, unbending Tories"; at his death he was chief of the Liberal party. In 1886 Gladstone took up the cause of Home Rule, but was defeated in the Commons and in the country. By the power of his conviction and eloquence he carried the election of 1892 on the Home

Rule issue.—
For the fate
of the second
Home Rule
Bill, see
No. 133. On
Gladstone
and Home
Rule, see
Gladstone,
*The Irish
Question*. On
see Morley,
*Life of
Gladstone*
(in prepara-
tion).

granted. We wish it to be granted in the mode prescribed by Mr. Burke. Mr. Burke said, in his first speech at Bristol:—

“I was true to my old-standing invariable principle, that all things which came from Great Britain should issue as a gift of her bounty and beneficence, rather than as claims recovered against struggling litigants, or at least if your beneficence obtained no credit in your concessions, yet that they should appear the salutary provisions of your wisdom and foresight—not as things wrung from you with your blood by the cruel gripe of a rigid necessity.”

The difference between giving with freedom and dignity on the one side, with acknowledgment and gratitude on the other, and giving under compulsion—giving with disgrace, giving with resentment dogging you at every step of your path—this difference is, in our eyes, fundamental, and this is the main reason not only why we have acted, but why we have acted now. This, if I understand it, is one of the golden moments of our history—one of those opportunities which may come and may go, but which rarely return, or, if they return, return at long intervals, and under circumstances which no man can forecast.

There have been such golden moments even in the tragic history of Ireland, as her poet says—

“One time the harp of Innisfail
Was tuned to notes of gladness.”

And then he goes on to say—

“But yet did oftener tell a tale
Of more prevailing sadness.”

But there was such a golden moment—it was in 1795—it was on the mission of Lord Fitzwilliam. At that moment it is historically clear that the Parliament of Grattan was

From
1782–1800
Ireland had
Home Rule

on the point of solving the Irish problem. The two great knots of that problem were—in the first place, Roman Catholic Emancipation; and, in the second place, the Reform of Parliament. The cup was at her lips, and she was ready to drink it, when the hand of England rudely and ruthlessly dashed it to the ground in obedience to the wild and dangerous intimations of an Irish faction.

“Ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri,
Spes Danaùm.”

There has been no great day of hope for Ireland, no day when you might hope completely and definitely to end the controversy till now—more than 90 years. The long periodic time has at last run out, and the star has again mounted into the heavens. What Ireland was doing for herself in 1795 we at length have done. The Roman Catholics have been emancipated—emancipated after a woeful disregard of solemn promises through 29 years, emancipated slowly, sullenly, not from goodwill, but from abject terror, with all the fruits and consequences which will always follow that method of legislation. The second problem has been also solved, and the representation of Ireland has been thoroughly reformed; and I am thankful to say that the franchise was given to Ireland on the re-adjustment of last year with a free heart, with an open hand, and the gift of that franchise was the last act required to make the success of Ireland in her final effort absolutely sure. We have given Ireland a voice: we must all listen for a moment to what she says. We must all listen—both sides, both Parties, I mean as they are, divided on this question—divided, I am afraid, by an almost immeasurable gap. We do not undervalue or despise the forces opposed to us. I have described them as the forces of class and its dependents; and that as a general description—as a slight and rude outline of a description—is, I

under a parliament called Grattan's Parliament, from the great Irish leader. It was not a representative government, as no Catholic could hold office or sit, and political conditions were even worse than in England.

Catholic Emancipation, 1829. See No. 128.

Reform Bill of 1885.

believe, perfectly true. I do not deny that many are against us whom we should have expected to be for us. I do not deny that some whom we see against us have caused us by their conscientious action the bitterest disappointment. You have power, you have wealth, you have rank, you have station, you have organization. What have we? We think that we have the people's heart; we believe and we know we have the promise of the harvest of the future. As to the people's heart, you may dispute it, and dispute it with perfect sincerity. Let that matter make its own proof. As to the harvest of the future, I doubt if you have so much confidence, and I believe that there is in the breast of many a man who means to vote against us to-night a profound misgiving, approaching even to a deep conviction, that the end will be as we foresee, and not as you do—that the ebbing tide is with you and the flowing tide is with us. Ireland stands at your bar expectant, hopeful, almost suppliant. Her words are the words of truth and soberness. She asks a blessed oblivion of the past, and in that oblivion our interest is deeper than even hers. My right hon. Friend the Member for East Edinburgh (Mr. Goschen) asks us to-night to abide by the traditions of which we are the heirs. What traditions? By the Irish traditions? Go into the length and breadth of the world, ransack the literature of all countries, find, if you can, a single voice, a single book, find, I would almost say, as much as a single newspaper article, unless the product of the day, in which the conduct of England towards Ireland is anywhere treated except with profound and bitter condemnation. Are these the traditions by which we are exhorted to stand? No; they are a sad exception to the glory of our country. They are a broad and black blot upon the pages of its history; and what we want to do is to stand by the traditions of which we are the heirs in all matters except our relations with Ireland, and to make our

relations with Ireland to conform to the other traditions of our country. So we treat our traditions—so we hail the demand of Ireland for what I call a blessed oblivion of the past. She asks also a boon for the future; and that boon for the future, unless we are much mistaken, will be a boon to us in respect of honour, no less than a boon to her in respect of happiness, prosperity and peace. Such, Sir, is her prayer. Think, I beseech you, think well, think wisely, think, not for the moment, but for the years that are to come, before you reject this Bill.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 311; Noes 341: Majority against the bill 30.

House of Commons, *Debate on the Government of Ireland Bill*, June 7, 1886 (Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, CCCVI, 1236).



133. The Lords and the Home Rule Bill (1893)

“I think the Contents have it.”

It was the voice of the Lord Chancellor sounding through the crowded chamber just after midnight. The scene was one seldom witnessed in this august, but not always entertaining, assembly. The floor was packed with peers occupying every bench on either side, irrespective of party camps. They swarmed round the Woolsack till the Lord Chancellor, upstanding and desiring to glance round with intent impartially to judge how parties were divided before pronouncing on the issue submitted to him, craned his neck in almost undignified fashion. Behind the rails of the Throne, against which the crowd of peers pressed, was another throng made up of Privy Councillors and sons of

By HENRY LUCY (1845–), manager of the Parliamentary Corps of the *Daily News*. Since 1873 Mr. Lucy has had a place in the Press Gallery of the House of Commons, save for one year when he took the post of Editor of the *Daily News*, a position which he speedily abandoned to return to

his former work. His sketches of Parliament, filling several volumes, give a most interesting view of the proceedings in the House of Commons.

In February, 1893, Gladstone introduced the Second Home Rule Bill. It passed the second reading by a vote of 347 to 304. After a debate of 81 days it went to the Lords, who gave it four days' consideration, and threw it out by a vote of 419 to 41.

peers privileged to assemble here if peradventure they could find room. From both side-galleries bright eyes rained influence. Members of the House of Commons, forsaking their own Chamber, flocked into the Lords, shouldering each other in a dense mass by the bar, filling the odds and ends of the gallery which the Lords assign to them in acknowledgment of a somewhat similar provision made for peers in the other House.

The great debate was over. Four days had sufficed for an ungagged House of Lords to dispose of a matter the gagged House of Commons had talked round for more than fourscore.

"The question is," said the Lord Chancellor, "that this Bill be now read a second time. Since which an amendment has been moved to leave out all the words from 'now,' and insert 'this day six months.' The question that I have put is that the word 'now' stand part of the question. Those who are of that opinion say 'Content.'"

Here there was a faint, shy murmur from the benches to the right of the Lord Chancellor. The Liberal peers were content, so steeped in contentment that they were loath to break the peaceful moment by noisy cry.

"The contrary, 'Not content,'" added the Lord Chancellor.

At which signal there came from the crowd to his left, from the throng behind the Woolsack, from the white-winged Bishops clustered above the Ministerial Bench, from the group below the gangway behind the bench on which the Duke of Devonshire sat, an almost angry roar of "Not content!"

The Lord Chancellor paused a moment, as if weighing a nicely-balanced problem. Then in a low, clear voice, looking straight before him, he repeated: "I think the 'Contents' have it."

It is said by some who stood close to the Woolsack that

when Lord Herschell committed himself to what, if the speaker were not the Lord Chancellor, might be described as this "whopper," a faint blush stole over his ingenuous countenance. That is, however, testimony probably warped by personal feeling and desire to save the credit of an amiable and upright man. There was certainly no tremor in the voice, no flinching in the attitude, as the Lord Chancellor, called upon to give his opinion as to the side on which, in the House of Lords, preponderance in favour of the Home Rule Bill declared itself, affirmed it was demonstrated on behalf of the second reading. There was nothing for it but to submit the question to the arbitrament of the division. With a burst of almost merry laughter, their lordships rose to their feet and began to pass out into the lobbies.

The phrase is used in the plural for fuller accuracy. Watching the multitude slowly making its way down to the bar it seemed as if all were going into one lobby. In ordinary times the Whips stand by the wicket and "tell" members as they pass through. Although undesigned, there was not lacking something of dramatic effect in Lord Salisbury's proposition that this usual course should be departed from. Such a gathering would never be so marshalled till the night was far advanced. Better let them pour through into the outer hall, and there be counted.

So it was arranged, and the memorable gathering of peers, spreading out the full breadth of the floor, pressed slowly onward towards the passage by the bar into the division lobby. With them went the Bishops, their white lawn looking like flecks of foam on the eddying current swirling outwards. Lord Kimberley, Lord Spencer, Lord Rosebery, and other Ministers seated on the front bench made early retreat, lest peradventure they should be swept away by the stream passing between the table and the Ministerial bench and carried off to vote against the Home

Lord Herschell died at Washington in 1899 while serving on the Venezuela Boundary Commission.

Rule Bill. There was something pathetic in the position of their few followers seated on the benches behind. Some had risen to go out, but found their way blocked first by the Bishops, not yet dispersed, and beyond them the solid phalanx of peers who had been standing before the Throne. If they had chanced to be going the other way, towards the bar, motion would have been easy enough. They might have drifted out with the tide. To go against the tide was quite another matter, and after vain effort they gave up the attempt, resuming their seats, and sitting patiently whilst the great majority swept past them. By-and-by the pressure was removed from the upper end of the Chamber, and the minority, fit, few, and forty-one, made haste to escape.

In the House of Commons when a great division takes place there is one moment when the House is absolutely empty, save for the presence of the Speaker, the Clerks at the table, the Sergeant-at-Arms, and the messengers attendant. The Sergeant-at-Arms, advancing to the bar, glances keenly round to see that there are no lingerers, and then signal is given to lock the doors. After the cheers and counter-cheers that mark the close of the debate, with the bustle of departing crowds stilled, a strange quietness falls upon the place. The interval is to be counted only by seconds until the doors are unlocked, and one stream enters from beneath the gallery, the other from behind the Speaker's Chair. There is no parallel to this in similar circumstances in the House of Lords, there being, in fact, no locked doors by the passages outward on either side of the throne. So far-reaching was the throng of "Not Contents," that almost before the rear had straggled out of the House by the bar, the vanguard entered from the other side. The benches rapidly filled up. The peers seemed to come in more quickly than they had made their way out. But fully forty minutes elapsed between the signal to start and the announcement that all was over.

Here, again, the House of Commons, in some respects less spectacular than the Lords, has the advantage. In the Commons, when a division is completed, the tellers, having handed in their report of the figures, range themselves in line facing the Mace on the table, and he who represents the winning side receives from the Clerk the paper setting forth the result. The floor of the House is a clear space, save for the presence of the four tellers. They retire a few paces, and, with obeisance thrice made to the Chair, advance to the table, where the teller for the victorious side proclaims the result of a contest upon which, perchance, may rest the fate of a Ministry. It is obvious that here is fine opportunity for what on the stage is known as business. Lord Randolph Churchill will not forget that night in June eight years gone by when the paper containing the doom of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry was handed to Mr. Rowland Winn, Whip for the Opposition. As the Whips marched backward to take up their position for advance, there was time for noble lords and hon. members to leap on the benches, wave their hats in triumph, and shout themselves hoarse, whilst Mr. Rowland Winn, the fateful paper in his hand, stood impassive, awaiting opportunity to advance and announce the result.

This morning, as Big Ben was sounding the third quarter of an hour past midnight, there was no space on the floor of the House of Lords for tellers to march up and down. Four hundred and sixty marquises, dukes, and a' that, Old Nobility and New, Bishops and the Master of Buckhounds, were gathered within the four walls. There was no room for them on the benches, and, these filled, noble lords stood round the Woolsack, an almost impenetrable mass, threatening asphyxia to the panting Lord Chancellor.

Presently a noble lord was seen making his way through the throng, handing a piece of paper to the Lord Chancellor over the shoulder of a peer who could not get further

On June 8, 1885, the Gladstone ministry was defeated on a *Budget* question, and went out.

out of the way. A great silence fell upon the assembly. Without assistance of the token, possible in the Commons, of the paper being in the first instance handed to the Ministerial or Opposition teller, no doubt existed as to the way the aggregate of votes had gone. It is true the Lord Chancellor, forty minutes earlier, had uncompromisingly declared that the Contents had it. Even a Lord Chancellor may be mistaken. Still there remained disclosure of the precise figures by which the fate of the Bill had been sealed. Amid the hush the voice of the Lord Chancellor sounded with clarion clearness—"For the second reading, 41; against, 419."

So there had been a mistake somewhere, and, after all, it was the "Not Contents" who "had it."

Henry W. Lucy, *A Diary of the Home Rule Parliament* (London, 1896), 251-255.

CHAPTER XXI—THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

134. The Children in the Coal Mines (1842)

I SHALL now proceed to the statement I have undertaken respecting the condition of the working classes in our mines and collieries, and the measures requisite to ameliorate that condition. I am sorry to detain the House by reading documents; I shall often have occasion to trespass on their patience; but the subject demands it. I think that the points I wish to establish should be made out by statements and evidence, rather than by any attempts at declamation. In the first place, I shall present the House with the result of the evidence respecting the age and sex of persons employed in the mines and collieries. The extent to which the employment of females prevails varies very much in different districts—in some parts of the country none but males are employed, in other places a great number of females. With respect to the age at which children are worked in mines and collieries in South Staffordshire, it is common to begin at 7 years old; in Shropshire some begin as early as 6 years of age; in Warwickshire the same; in Leicestershire nearly the same. In Derbyshire many begin at 5, many between 5 and 6 years, many at 7. In the West Riding of Yorkshire it is not uncommon for infants even of 5 years old to be sent to the pit. About Halifax and the neighbourhood children are sometimes brought to the pits at the age of 6 years, and are taken out of their beds at 4 o'clock. Bradford and Leeds,

By ANTONY, LORD ASHLEY, later EARL OF SHAFTESBURY (1801–1885).

Throughout his life, Shaftesbury made the cause of the working classes his own. To redress wrong was the purpose for which he lived, and the Factory Acts are the result.

"It would not be easy to tell how much the life of Shaftesbury has availed in warding off revolution from England, and in softening the bitter spirit between rich and poor." Blackie.

In 1840 Lord Ashley secured the appointment of a Parliamentary com-

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mission of inquiry into the conditions of labour in the mines. The first report was issued in May, 1842. The state of things which it revealed aroused general indignation. This extract is from a speech made by Ashley on the 7th of June in introducing the Mines and Collieries Bill to exclude women and children from the coal pits. The bill passed the Commons without a division. It was carried in the Lords with more difficulty. It was followed by other measures completely revolutionizing the conditions of labour in England.

the same; in Lancashire and Cheshire, from 5 to 6. Near Oldham children are worked as low "as 4 years old, and in the small collieries towards the hills some are so young they are brought to work in their bed-gowns." In Cumberland, many at 7; in South Durham, as early as 5 years of age, and by no means uncommonly at 6. In reference to this I may quote a remark of Dr. Mitchell, one of the Commissioners; he says, "Though the very young children are not many in proportion, there are still such a number as is painful to contemplate, and which the great coal-owners will perhaps now learn for the first time, and I feel a firm belief that they will do so with sorrow and regret." Now, in justice to the great coal-owners of the North, I must say, that if they had been the only parties with whom we had to deal, the necessity for this Bill would perhaps not have existed: they have exhibited, in many respects, care and kindness towards their people. Many children, the Report goes on to state, are employed in North Durham and Northumberland at 5, and between 5 and 6: "The instances in which children begin to work at 7, and between 7 and 8, are so numerous, that it would be tedious to recite them." In the east of Scotland it is more common for children to begin work at 5 and 6 than in any part of England. In the west of Scotland children are taken down into the pits at a very early age, often when 8 years old, and even earlier. In North Wales the cases are rare of children being employed at 5 or 6—they are very common at 7. In South Wales more cases are recorded of the employment of children in the pits at very early ages than in any other district. It is not unusual to take them into the pits at 4 years. Many are absolutely carried to the work. In South Gloucestershire cases are recorded of children employed at 6 years, the general age is about 9. In North Somersetshire many begin to work between 6 and 7. In the south of Ireland no children at all are employed.

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All the underground work, which in the coal-mines of England, Scotland, and Wales, is done by young children, appears in Ireland to be done by young persons between the ages of 13 and 18. Now, with respect to sex, the Report states that in South Staffordshire no females are employed in underground work, nor in North Staffordshire. In Shropshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and Derbyshire, the same. In the West Riding of Yorkshire the practice of employing females underground is universal. About Halifax and the neighbourhood girls from 5 years old and upwards regularly perform the same work as boys. At Bradford and Leeds, far from uncommon. In Lancashire and Cheshire it is the general custom for girls and women to be employed. In North Lancashire, throughout the whole of the district, girls and women are regularly employed underground. In Cumberland there are none, excepting in one old colliery, nor in Durham, nor in Northumberland. In the east of Scotland the employment of females is general, but in the west of Scotland extremely rare. In North Wales, some on the surface, none underground. In South Wales it is not uncommon. In Gloucestershire and Somersetshire there are none. In none of the collieries in the coal-fields of Ireland was a single instance found of a female child, nor a female of any age, being employed in any kind of work. I must observe that, with respect to that country, neither children of tender years nor females are employed in underground operations. I have often, Sir, admired the generosity and warm-heartedness of the Irish people; and I must say, that if this is to be taken as a specimen of their barbarism, I would not exchange it for all the refinement and polish of most civilized nations of the globe.

The next point to which I desire to call the attention of the House is the character of the localities to which these young creatures are consigned. . . .

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"While efficient ventilation," the Report adds, "is neglected, less attention is paid to drainage. . . . Some pits are dry and comfortable. . . . Many are so wet that the people have to work all day over their shoes in water, at the same time that the water is constantly dripping from the roof: in other pits, instead of dripping, it constantly rains, as they term it, so that in a short time after they commence the labour of the day their clothes are drenched; and in this state, their feet also in water, they work all day. The children especially (and in general the younger the age the more painfully this unfavourable state of the place of work is felt) complain bitterly of this." It must be borne in mind that it is in this district [Derbyshire] that the regular hours of a full day's labour are 14, and occasionally 16; and the children have to walk a mile or two at night without changing their clothes. In the West Riding of Yorkshire it appears that there are very few collieries with thin seams where the main roadways exceed a yard in height, and in some they do not exceed 26 or 28 inches: nay, in some the height is as little even as 22 inches; so that in such places the youngest child cannot work without the most constrained posture. The ventilation, besides, in general is very bad, and the drainage worse. In Oldham the mountain-seams are wrought in a very rude manner. There is very insufficient drainage. The ways are so low that only little boys can work in them, which they do naked, and often in mud and water, dragging sledge-tubs by the girdle and chain. In North Lancashire, "the drainage is often extremely bad: a pit of not above 20 inches seam," says a witness, "had a foot of water in it, so that he could hardly keep his head out of water." . . . The evidence, as given by the young people and the old colliers themselves, of their sufferings, is absolutely piteous. In North Wales, in many of the mines, the roads are low and narrow, the air foul, the places of work dusty, dark, and damp, and

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the ventilation most imperfect. In South Wales, in many pits, the ventilation is grossly neglected, and the report complains of the quantity of carbonic acid-gas, which produces the most injurious effects, though not actually bad enough to prevent the people from working. So long as a candle will burn, the labour is continued. . . .

Sir, the next subject to which I shall request your attention is the nature of the employment in these localities. Now, it appears that the practice prevails to a lamentable extent of making young persons and children of a tender age draw loads by means of the girdle and chain. This practice prevails generally in Shropshire, in Derbyshire, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in Lancashire, in Cheshire, in the east of Scotland, in North and South Wales, and in South Gloucestershire. The child, it appears, has a girdle bound round its waist, to which is attached a chain, which passes under the legs, and is attached to the cart. The child is obliged to pass on all fours, and the chain passes under what, therefore, in that posture, might be called the hind legs; and thus they have to pass through avenues not so good as a common sewer, quite as wet, and oftentimes more contracted. This kind of labour they have to continue during several hours, in a temperature described as perfectly intolerable. . . .

Now, Sir, it appears that they drag these heavy weights some 12,000 yards, some 14,000, and some 16,000 yards daily. "In the east of Scotland," says the commissioner, "the persons employed in coal-bearing are almost always girls and women. They carry coal on their back on unrailed roads, with burdens varying from $\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. to 3 cwt., — a cruel slaving," says the sub-commissioner, "revolting to humanity. I found a little girl," says he, "only 6 years old, carrying half a cwt., and making regularly 14 long journeys a-day. With a burden varying from 1 cwt. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt., the height ascended and the distance along the

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roads, added together, exceeded in each journey the height of St. Paul's Cathedral." Thus we find a child of 6 years old, with a burthen of at least half a cwt., making 14 times a-day a journey equal in distance to the height of St. Paul's Cathedral. . . .

Is it not enough to announce these things to an assembly of Christian men and British gentlemen? For twenty millions of money you purchased the liberation of the negro; and it was a blessed deed. You may, this night, by a cheap and harmless vote, invigorate the hearts of thousands of your countrypeople, enable them to walk erect in newness of life, to enter on the enjoyment of their inherited freedom, and avail themselves (if they will accept them) of the opportunities of virtue, of morality, and religion. These, Sir, are the ends that I venture to propose; this is the barbarism that I seek to restore. . . .

House of Commons, June 7, 1842, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Speeches* (London, 1868), 32-58 *passim*.

A member in a preceding discussion had said that "this kind of legislation would bring back the barbarism of the Middle Ages."

135. The Corn Laws (1843)

By W. J. FOX, Unitarian minister of South Place Chapel. Fox was called by John Bright, the only man who could dispute the title, "The Orator of the Anti-Corn Law League." The agitation against the Corn Laws began about 1838. The real leader of

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN, — On the subject of the Corn Laws it is, I believe, impossible to find a new argument. Everything that can be said is but an illustration of old ones. . . . But the fact is, that the repeal of the Corn Laws is no longer a question to be settled by argument. Had it been to be settled in this way, the great work would have been achieved long ago. All the principles of the Corn Law repealers are admitted; yet these laws still remain in the Statute Book. The question originated with speculative theorists in political economy, who put forth their occasional views in magazines or in newspapers; it has grown up into this enormous, this general,

this triumphant agitation; and yet the question is not carried. Why? Because we have to deal with sinister interests, not with the convictions of the understanding. The supporters of the Corn Laws are very fond of complaining of the long speeches made by the Leaguers against them when they know they have nothing novel to say. Now, I should be very glad to effect a compromise with those objectors. I should be very ready to say to them, "If you will spare our pockets, we will spare your intellects. If you will allow the people's mouths to be filled, we will abstain from filling your ears with their remonstrances. If you will untax our bread, we will no longer tax your patience."

It is true that the subject is an exhausted one; but why is it exhausted? It is because the advocates of Free Trade have not shrunk from grappling with any and every view of the question that can be presented to them. Whatever argument has been used, they have met with some resistless fact, completely destroying its effect, and to that extent exhausting the subject. They have met the question in every light. Take it as a foreign question, and they urge that it promotes war, not peace; that even, if it does not raise hostile armies against this country, it raises up hostile armies against our commerce. Take it as a home question, and it leads directly and at once to the inquiry, whether England is to continue to be the home of Englishmen? The Corn Laws are making England but a dilapidated home for Englishmen, and already have upholders of these laws arrived at that point when they would rather export our people than import their food. The Saxon laws bred their serfs as slaves, and they sold them out of the country as slaves. But they fed them! They gave the food to enhance the price of the people; we are now prepared to give away the people in order to enhance the price of the food. Looking at it further as a home question, I

the movement was Richard Cobden. The work of the League was to arouse and organize public feeling, to convert political parties, to bend Parliament, still composed mainly of representatives of the landlord class. All these things were done. In 1843 a *Times* leader said, "The League is a great fact, a new power has arisen in the state."

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wonder that even in a financial point of view the Minister does not see how ill these laws operate. Surely the annual payment out of the country of £40,000,000 for the benefit of one class must materially diminish the tax-paying power of the whole people.

. . . Sometimes the question is looked at as a question of charity; there, too, the League is not behind with its view of the subject. Even the bread that is given in charity must first pay the tax imposed by these laws; and if by a royal begging letter, some hundreds of thousands of pounds are collected for the poor of Paisley, why, the rapacity of this dominant class must needs step in and take some £30,000 of the money thus bestowed in charity. That Book which we profess to revere tells us to pray for our daily bread; therefore it cannot possibly teach men to tax our daily bread. There is one precept in that Book with the fulfilment of which these laws directly interfere; there the young man is told to sell all he has and to give it to the poor. That precept it is impossible to obey in our day. The Corn Laws have rendered it impossible. It must be altered, and in future it will stand: "Sell all thou hast, and divide the proceeds between the richest and the poorest, between the pauper and the landlord."

Or look at it as a class question. What class is it that is interested in the maintenance of these laws? It cannot be the farmer, because the rent screw is turned upon him for every extra shilling a quarter he makes on his corn. It cannot be the labouring classes, for look at the wages of eight shillings a week for a family of seven or eight persons. It is not the commercial class, for the present system keeps them out of a foreign as well as a home market. It cannot be the literary class, for who would care to provide food for the mind, when food for the body is so heavily taxed? Then, in fact, it cannot be any class but that very small one, composed of some 10,000 or 20,000 (not more)

of nominal owners of the soil. . . . And is it for the sake of such a class as this that a great people is to be stopped in their onward march? Suppose they do realise the cash which seems to be the object of all their legislation, can they shake off the condition that invariably attaches to its acquirement? While they receive their share of the Bread Tax, can they avoid also receiving their share of the odium, of the deep responsibility that attends it, the responsibility of having perilled the safety of the country, of having struck at the root of its prosperity, of having turned the industrious out of employment, earning not the blessings, but the curses of those whom their laws have driven to the state in which they are ready to perish, of exposing themselves to the reprobation of all good men, and to the unfailing retribution of providential justice?

One great argument used in favour of these laws is that they make England independent of all the world. A much more proper way to take it is that they make all the world independent of England. They isolate Great Britain from the family of nations, and they are the destruction of that intercourse, and that interchange of kindness which it seems to be the plan of Providence in thus dividing mankind into nations to promote. The question now is no longer one of argument, as I have already said; it is a question of will. The will of the landlords, it is, arrayed against everlasting justice. Man toils for his bread by the sweat of his brow—it is just that he should receive that bread untaxed, for the artificial enhancement of his neighbour's profit; but those who tax will tax anything. . . . But it seems that we are to be debarred from agitating for a repeal of these laws because Sir Robert Peel has introduced his measure of last Session. That bantling of now exactly a year and a day old is too young, the right hon. baronet thinks to be put to death. . . .

We are asked to give this measure a trial. Why, if we

In 1842 Peel carried a measure establishing a sliding scale of duties on corn.

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do, what will be the result? We know well enough already what the real operation of the plan will be; and in the meantime the work of ruin will still be going on. There will be more foreign tariffs, more shut-up mills, more discharges of workmen, more distress and misery among the industrial classes; . . . But if Sir Robert Peel has his experiment, the Leaguers have theirs also, and they have come here to this place to try it. The agitation of the question of repeal of the Corn Laws has marched up from Manchester to the metropolis — it has spread far and wide, and now we shall see who will hold out the longest, the people or the Minister. That individual and the people are both the subjects, the slaves of that class which lords over all, and commands and masters the ministers and the legislature, the navy, aye, and the Church; that class which even commands the Crown. The people of this country, with all their untiring industry, their ingenuity, and amiable dispositions, are the mere appendages of the dirty acres which are inherited by that class. The very disgrace, the unspeakable degradation of the Corn Laws, is intolerable, to say nothing of the sufferings which they are calculated to inflict. We are therefore glad to welcome the League amongst us; the people, being part and parcel of the League, are determined to aid and support it; we shall devote ourselves to it, not merely by attending their weekly meetings in this theatre or elsewhere, but we will solemnly and soberly pledge ourselves to it as a religious sentiment. . . .

Rev. W. J. Fox (*The Times*, March 30, 1843).

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136. The Repeal of the Corn Laws (1846)

This night is to decide between the policy of continued relaxation of restriction, or the return to restraint and prohibition. This night you will select the motto which is to indicate the commercial policy of England. Shall it be "advance" or "recede"? Which is the fitter motto for this great Empire? Survey our position, consider the advantage which God and nature have given us, and the destiny for which we are intended. We stand on the confines of Western Europe, the chief connecting link between the old world and the new. The discoveries of science, the improvement of navigation, have brought us within ten days of St. Petersburg, and will soon bring us within ten days of New York. We have an extent of coast greater in proportion to our population and the area of our land than any other great nation, securing to us maritime strength and superiority. Iron and coal, the sinews of manufacture, give us advantages over every rival in the great competition of industry. Our capital far exceeds that which they can command. In ingenuity—in skill—in energy—we are inferior to none. Our national character, the free institutions under which we live, the liberty of thought and action, an unshackled press, spreading the knowledge of every discovery and of every advance in science—combine with our natural and physical advantages to place us at the head of those nations which profit by the free interchange of their products. And is this the country to shrink from competition? Is this the country to adopt a retrograde policy? Is this the country which can only flourish in the sickly artificial atmosphere of prohibition? Is this the country to stand shivering on the brink of exposure to the healthful breezes of competition?

By SIR
ROBERT
PEEL (1788-
1850), states-
man. Peel
entered Par-
liament in
1809 as a
Tory, and he
soon gained
the name of
spokesman
of the intoler-
ant faction.
But he had
the capacity
to learn, and
therefore to
change. He
had opposed
all concession
to Ireland,
but in 1829
he induced
his party to
grant Catho-
lic Emanci-
pation. After
the passage
of the Re-
form Bill,
which he
opposed, he
organized
the Tories as
a conserva-
tive party.
In 1841 he
took office in
support of a
protective
policy, but
in 1846,
moved by
the failure of
the potato
crop in Ire-
land (see No.
137), he car-
ried through
the repeal of
the Corn
Laws. This
step was fatal
to his political

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career, but he gave the people cheap food, and made free trade the motto of England's commercial policy. — On Peel, see F. C. Monague, *Life of Sir Robert Peel*.

Choose your motto. "Advance" or "Recede." Many countries are watching with anxiety the selection you may make. Determine for "Advance," and it will be the watchword which will animate and encourage in every state the friends of liberal commercial policy. Sardinia has taken the lead. Naples is relaxing her protective duties and favouring British produce. Prussia is shaken in her adherence to restriction. The Government of France will be strengthened; and, backed by the intelligence of the reflecting, and by conviction of the real welfare of the great body of the community, will perhaps ultimately prevail over the self-interest of the commercial and manufacturing aristocracy which now predominates in her Chambers. Can you doubt that the United States will soon relax her hostile Tariff, and that the friends of a freer commercial intercourse — the friends of peace between the two countries — will hail with satisfaction the example of England?

This night, then — if on this night the debate shall close — you will have to decide what are the principles by which your commercial policy is to be regulated. Most earnestly, from a deep conviction, founded not upon the limited experience of three years alone, but upon the experience of the results of every relaxation of restriction and prohibition, I counsel you to set the example of liberality to other countries. Act thus, and it will be in perfect consistency with the course you have hitherto taken. Act thus, and you will provide an additional guarantee for the continued contentment, and happiness, and well-being of the great body of the people. Act thus, and you will have done whatever human sagacity can do for the promotion of commercial prosperity.

You may fail. Your precautions may be unavailing. They may give no certain assurance that mercantile and manufacturing prosperity will continue without interruption. It seems to be incident to great prosperity that

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there shall be a reverse — that the time of depression shall follow the season of excitement and success. That time of depression must perhaps return; and its return may be coincident with scarcity caused by unfavourable seasons. Gloomy winters, like those of 1841 and 1842, may again set in. Are those winters effaced from your memory? From mine they never can be. . . .

These sad times may recur. "The years of plenteousness may have ended," and "the years of dearth may have come"; and again you may have to offer the unavailing expressions of sympathy, and the urgent exhortations to patient resignation. . . .

When you are again exhorting a suffering people to fortitude under their privations, when you are telling them, "These are the chastenings of an all-wise and merciful Providence, sent for some inscrutable but just and beneficent purpose — it may be, to humble our pride, or to punish our unfaithfulness, or to impress us with the sense of our own nothingness and dependence on His mercy;" when you are thus addressing your suffering fellow subjects, and encouraging them to bear without repining the dispensations of Providence, may God grant that by your decision of this night you may have laid in store for yourselves the consolation of reflecting that such calamities are, in truth, the dispensations of Providence — that they have not been caused, they have not been aggravated by laws of man restricting, in the hour of scarcity, the supply of food!

House of Commons, *Debate on Repeal of the Corn Laws*, Feb. 16, 1846 (Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, LXXXIII, 1041-1043).

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137. The Irish Famine (1847)

By WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER (1818-1886), a Quaker statesman and philanthropist. He entered Parliament in 1861 as a Liberal member for Bradford. In 1870 he became a member of Gladstone's first cabinet, and carried through the Elementary Education Act. From 1880 to 1882 he was Chief Secretary for Ireland under Gladstone, but he opposed the Home Rule measures of 1886.

In 1845 and 1846 the potato crop, almost the only food of the peasantry, failed. Famine followed in 1846 and 1847, and in spite of private and public relief one-fourth of the population perished.

The following

I left Dublin by mail on the 17th of First-month, 1847, and joined my father and his companions at Westport on the following evening.

The next day we left Westport, on our way to Connemara, after a morning of much pressure; applications for aid coming in from all sides, especially from Louisburgh, a populous and most distressed parish along the coast to the south; the surgeon of the dispensary there describing the people as swept off by dysentery, the most usual form of the famine-plague, by ten to twenty a day. The town of Westport was in itself a strange and fearful sight, like what we read of in beleaguered cities, its streets crowded with gaunt wanderers sauntering to and fro with hopeless air and hunger-struck look; a mob of starved, almost naked women, around the poor-house, clamouring for soup-tickets; our inn, the head-quarters of the road-engineer and pay clerks, beset by a crowd of beggars for work.

Early next morning, we proceeded to the small village of Leenane, where we found a large body of men engaged in making a pier under the Labour-rate Act. This village appeared to me, comparatively speaking, well off, having had in it public works for some weeks, and the wages at pier-making being rather better than those earned on the roads. Still, even here, the men were weak, evidently wasting away for want of sufficient food.

Bundorragha, the village of which we had heard so bad an account the previous evening, being on the other side of the harbour, I took a boat to it, and was much struck by the pale, spiritless look and air of the boatmen, so different from their wild Irish fun when I had made the same excursion before. Having lately walked through all this district of Connemara, I had an opportunity of comparing

its present with its then aspect, and of noting the effects produced on it by the famine: in this village of Bundorragha, the change was peculiarly striking. In my previous visit, it struck me even then as a very poor place; the dark thunder-cloud was brooding over it, but as yet the tempest had not broken. The small cottiers, then gathering in their few potatoes, were in great fear: they saw the quick, sure approach of famine: death stared them in the face, but as yet his hand was stayed. One poor woman, whose cabin I visited, said, "There will be nothing for us but to lie down and die." I tried to give her hope of English aid, but, alas! her prophecy has been but too true. Out of a population of 240, I found 13 already dead from want. The survivors were like walking skeletons; the men stamped with the livid mark of hunger; the children crying with pain; the women in some of the cabins too weak to stand. When there before, I had seen cows at almost every cabin, and there were, besides, many sheep and pigs owned in the village. But now all the sheep were gone; all the cows, all the poultry killed; only one pig left; the very dogs which had barked at me before had disappeared; no potatoes, no oats. We ordered a ton of meal to be sent there from Westport, but it could not arrive for some time. I tried to get some immediate help for those who were actually starving; there was hardly enough of meal in the village to fill my pockets, and I was compelled to send a boat four miles to Leenane, to buy a small quantity there.

I here met with a striking instance of the patience of these sufferers. The Bundorragha men had been at work for three weeks on the roads, and the men at a neighbouring village for five weeks; owing to the negligence or mistake of some officers of the works, with the exception of two of the gangsmen, who had gone themselves to Westport the end of the previous week, no wages had until this morning been received. While I was there, the pay clerk sent a

extract is from a report published by the Society of Friends, giving an account of the famine in Ireland, 1846-1847, and of its efforts to afford relief.

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messenger over; but still only with wages for a few; and it was wonderful, but yet most touching, to see the patient, quiet look of despair with which the others received the news that they were still left unpaid. I doubt whether it would have been easy to find a man who would have dared to bear the like announcement to starving Englishmen.

On recrossing the water, I found my father waiting for me on a car, on which we proceeded to Clifden, which we did not reach till after night-fall. Near the Kylemore Lake, under that grand chain of mountains, the Twelve Pins, we found full a hundred men making a new road. After long cross-questioning, we learned that their wages did not average, taking one week with another, and allowing for broken days, more than four shillings and sixpence per week per head: and this we found confirmed by our enquiries in other districts; in fact, for the most distressed localities in Mayo and Galway, I should consider this too high an average. To get to their work, many of the men have to walk five, or even seven, Irish miles.

* * * * *

GALWAY, 25th of First-month, 1847.

The next day we spent chiefly in interviews with different gentlemen, especially the Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen, who showed great zeal in their efforts to give relief in their town and neighbourhood. We found deep distress, resulting in greatly increased mortality in this town, especially in the Claddagh, the quarter in which the fishermen chiefly reside; but we were glad to have reason to believe that the more wealthy inhabitants were grappling with the evil according to their ability; and it was comforting to observe how cordially Roman Catholics and Protestants, both lay and clerical, were uniting together in common efforts to save their poor neighbours.

Among other callers at our hotel, was the clergyman of the district on the northern side of Galway Bay, including

Spiddal and Lettermore, and also the isles of Arran. This parish, or rather portion of a parish, comprised, he stated, a population of at least 15,000 in great distress, especially the inhabitants of the main land, and of Lettermore and its adjoining group of islands.

There are in this wide tract, so thickly peopled in proportion to its cultivation, scarcely any resident land-owners, and no store for the sale of provisions; and many of his parishioners had, this gentleman told us, to make a journey of thirty miles to Galway, to buy a stone of meal. This was one among many cases, in which was brought home to us the great need for the establishment of small depots for provisions, or retail stores. In many of the more remote and distressed, because neglected districts, where the inhabitants have hitherto subsisted upon potatoes, a retail trade in provisions is altogether novel to their habits; and so complete is the absence of capital, that there is no probability (at least this year) of its overtaking the demand. Often the poor people have, after earning their wretched pittance at the public works, to walk ten, twenty, or even thirty miles to the nearest store, to get a stone of meal; or to buy it from the small hucksters, at an advance of as much as thirty per cent. above the market price.

. . . The impression made on me by this short tour can never be effaced. Bad as were my expectations, the reality far exceeded them. There is a prevailing idea in England, that the newspaper accounts are exaggerated. Particular cases may or may not be coloured, but no colouring can deepen the blackness of the truth.

When we entered a village, our first question was, how many deaths? "*The hunger is upon us,*" was everywhere the cry, and involuntarily we found ourselves regarding this hunger as we should an epidemic; looking upon starvation as a disease. In fact, as we went along, our wonder was not that the people died, but that they lived; and I have

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no doubt whatever that, in any other country, the mortality would have been far greater; that many lives have been prolonged, perhaps saved, by the long apprenticeship to want in which the Irish peasant has been trained, and by that lovely, touching charity which prompts him to share his scanty meal with his starving neighbour. But the springs of this charity must rapidly be dried up. Like a scourge of locusts, "the hunger" daily sweeps over fresh districts, eating up all before it. One class after another is falling into the same abyss of ruin. There is now but little difference between the small farmer and the squatter. We heard in Galway of little tradesmen secretly begging for soup. The priest cannot get his dues, nor the landlord his rent. The highest and the lowest in the land are forced into sympathy by this all-mastering visitation.

The misery of Ireland must increase daily, so far as regards her own resources; for these become daily less. To England must she this year look to save the lives of her children: nor will the need for English aid cease this year; it will be long before, with her utmost efforts, she can recover from this blow, or be able to support her own population. She must be a grievous burden on our resources, in return for long centuries of neglect and oppression.

I trust I shall be excused, if I express my earnest desire that the members of our Society may not consider that their duty to Ireland is fulfilled, by their effort to meet its present necessity. Its general and permanent condition is a subject in itself almost too dreadful to contemplate. Famine is there no new cry; it is a periodic disease; every year there have been districts where has prevailed somewhat of that misery which now rules the land. For a large portion of its population, all the great purposes of existence are forgotten in a struggle with death.

Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends during the Famine in Ireland in 1846 and 1847 (Dublin, 1852), 153-160.

138. The Revolt of Hodge (1872)

I had spent years thinking the matter well out; I had pondered over it when at work in the wood and the field; I had considered the question when I was hedging and ditching; I had thrashed it right out in my mind when I was tramping to and from my day's toil; and I had come to the conclusion that only organised labour could stand up, even for a single day, against employers' tyranny. I told many a man that, in the course of talk, but I was determined not to make any attempt to start the Union myself. I saw it was bound to come; but I also saw that the men themselves must ask me to help them. My part was to sit still and wait; about that I was clear; so I waited. . . .

The day was February 7th, 1872. It was a very wet morning, and I was busy at home on a carpentering job; I was making a box. My wife came in to me and said, "Joe, here's three men come to see you. What for, I don't know." But I knew fast enough. In walked the three; they turned out to be labourers from over Wellesbourne way. I stopped work, and we had a talk. They said they had come to ask me to hold a meeting at Wellesbourne that evening. They wanted to get the men together and start a Union directly. I told them that, if they did form a Union, they would have to fight hard for it, and they would have to suffer a great deal; both they and their families. They said the labourers were prepared both to fight and suffer. Things could not be worse; wages were so low, and provisions so dear, that nothing but downright starvation lay before them unless the farmers could be made to raise their wages. Asking was of no use; it was nothing but waste of breath; so they must join together and strike, and hold out till the employers gave in. When I saw that the men were in dead earnest, and had counted the cost and

By JOSEPH ARCH (1826-), "village Hampden," leader of the agricultural labourers, and later, member of Parliament, chosen by an enfranchised rural constituency. This extract, from Arch's own story of his life, describes the beginning of the National Agricultural Labourers Union, the greatest movement among the working classes of the country since the Peasants' Revolt.

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were determined to stand shoulder to shoulder till they could squeeze a living wage out of their employers, and that they were the spokesmen of others likeminded with themselves, I said I would address the meeting that evening at 7 o'clock. . . .

I remember that evening, as if it were but yesterday. When I set out I was dressed in a pair of cord trousers, and cord vest, and an old flannel-jacket. I have that jacket at home now, and I put a high value on it. As I tramped along the wet, muddy road to Wellesbourne, my heart was stirred within me, and questions passed through my mind and troubled me. Was it a false start, a sort of hole-and-corner movement, which would come to nothing, and do more harm to the men than good? If a Union were fairly set afoot, would the farmers prove too strong for it?

Then I thought of what I was risking. If I were a forward figure in this business, and things went all wrong it might be the ruin of me. I remembered the Labourers' Union in Dorsetshire, started in the thirties—what had become of that? Poor Hammett had had to pay a heavy price for standing up with his fellow-labourers against oppression. He and five others had been tried in 1834, and sentenced to seven years' transportation. The law had said that, when forming their little Agricultural Labourers' Union, they had administered illegal oaths. The plain truth of it was that, for daring to be Unionists they had been sent to the hulks in Australia. What matter though such a storm of anger had been raised by the shameful punishment that a free pardon had been granted them after about two years. They had been terribly punished. The disgrace and the indignities they had been obliged to put up with could never be wiped out. They were martyrs in a good cause, and I honoured them; but I did not want to be a martyr, I wanted to win alive and kicking. The law could not send me to the hulks; but there are more ways of

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torturing and ruining a man than one, and I knew that if the law could catch me anyhow it would. .'. .

What if the Union we meant to start in this corner of Warwickshire to-night should fall to bits like a badly made box? There was no saying what might happen. The men might be in earnest, but could they stay? Could they stand it out? Had they grit enough in them to face the farmers as free born Englishmen demanding their just dues, when they had been cringing to them so long? And what was a handful of poverty-stricken, half-starved, agricultural labourers going to do against so many of these powerful employers and rich oppressors? No Union I was sure could do any real good, or make any lasting improvement in the men's condition, if it was to be confined to a few men in one county. It would have to be a thumping big Union, with hundreds in it heartening one another for the glorious struggle before them. It would have to be a Union whose members were drawn from every county in England, and bound into one great unit by a common desire and a common hope.

The off chance of failure was present with me, as I trudged forward through the slush that chill February evening. But soon my spirits rose again. Was not the time fully ripe? Yes, I knew it was. In my heart I felt surely, surely, that the time of harvest was come. . . .

When I reached Wellesbourne, lo, and behold, it was as lively as a swarm of bees in June. We settled that I should address the meeting under the old chestnut tree; and I expected to find some thirty or forty of the principal men there. What then was my surprise to see not a few tens but many hundreds of labourers assembled; there were nearly two thousand of them. The news that I was going to speak that night had been spread about; and so the men had come in from all the villages round within a radius of ten miles. Not a circular had been sent out nor a hand-

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bill printed, but from cottage to cottage, and from farm to farm the word^a had been passed on; and here were the labourers gathered together in their hundreds. Wellesbourne village was there, every man in it; and they had come from Moreton and Locksley and Charlecote and Hampton Lucy, and from Barford, to hear what I had to say to them. By this time the night had fallen pitch dark; but the men got bean poles and hung lanterns on them, and we could see well enough. It was an extraordinary sight, and I shall never forget it, not to my dying day. I mounted an old pig-stool, and in the flickering light of the lanterns I saw the earnest upturned faces of these poor brothers of mine — faces gaunt with hunger and pinched with want — all looking towards me and ready to listen to the words that would fall from my lips. These white slaves of England stood there with the darkness all about them, like the Children of Israel waiting for some one to lead them out of the land of Egypt. I determined that, if they made a mistake and took the wrong turning, it would not be my fault, so I stood on my pig-stool and spoke out straight and strong for Union. My speech lasted about an hour, I believe, but I was not measuring minutes then. By the end of it the men were properly roused, and they pressed in and crowded up asking questions; they regularly pelted me with them; it was a perfect hailstorm. We passed a resolution to form a Union then and there, and the names of the men could not be taken down fast enough; we enrolled between two and three hundred members that night. It was a brave start, and before we parted it was arranged that there should be another meeting at the same place in a fortnight's time. I knew now that a fire had been kindled which would catch on, and spread, and run abroad like sparks in stubble; and I felt certain that this night we had set light to a beacon, which would prove a rallying point for the agricultural labourers throughout the country.

Joseph Arch, *The Story of his Life* (London, 1898), 67-74.

The results of this movement are summed up as follows by the Countess of Warwick: "First organisation, then higher wages and all which that means, and then the protection and power of the Parliamentary vote."

CHAPTER XXII—THE EMPIRE

139. The Manchester School and the Empire (1830)

THERE are only three ways that the colonies can be of any advantage, 1. In furnishing a military force; 2. In supplying the parent state with a revenue; 3. In affording commercial advantages.

1. Instead of furnishing a military force, the colonies are always a great drain upon the military resources of the country, particularly in war, when they occupy a large portion of the army and fleet in their defence. In the last war, while our own shores were threatened with invasion from Boulogne and Brest, our means of defence were greatly crippled by the number of troops and ships we were obliged to keep in the colonies.

2. With respect to revenue, we have declared by the Act of the 18 Geo. III., that we will not levy any taxes or duties in the colonies except for their use.

3. As to commercial advantages, if the colonial trade were quite free, our commercial relations with the colonies would resemble the intercourse between ourselves and independent countries; and therefore whatever advantages we shall derive from them will be embraced in two questions—1st. Whether our commerce with them will be more beneficial than with independent countries? 2nd. Whether the capital employed in them will be more beneficially employed than it would be, if employed in the United Kingdom?

By SIR
HENRY
PARNELL
(1776–1842),
chairman of
the Parli-
amentary
Committee
on the state
of the public
revenue and
expenditure
in 1828, and
Secretary of
War in Earl
Grey's cab-
inet in 1831.

The views
here ex-
pressed pre-
vailed during
the first half
of the pres-
ent century.
They were
largely the
result of the
influence of
the commer-
cial classes
in politics.
Partly, too,
they were
due to a feel-
ing which
arose after
the American
Revolution
that separa-
tion was
inevitable,
and therefore
it was well to
make the best
of the situa-

tion.— Compare with
No. 147.

With respect to the first question, it is one easily solved, because, where the employment of capital is free, the net profit that may be obtained by the employment of it in commerce with independent countries, will always be as great as if it were employed in the colonial trade. The trade we carry on with the United States proves this.

With respect to the second question, it is necessary to trace the operations of capital when employed in the colonies, and when employed at home. In the West India islands it goes to feed and clothe slaves; to pay British agents, clerks, and managers; to employ ships and sailors; and although the gross profit upon it seems very high when all the charges and risks are considered, and also the effects of competition, the net profit cannot be greater than it is on capital employed at home.

When capital is employed in the United Kingdom — for instance, on manufactures — it pays wages to English workmen instead of buying clothes and food for slaves; it employs agents, clerks, and managers; it employs ships and sailors to import raw materials, and to export the finished goods, and the rate of net profit on it is full as high as that on capital employed in the colonies. The incomes derived by West India proprietors from their profits are spent like incomes derived from rent, and add nothing to the national wealth; but the profits made on capital employed at home are added to capital, and thus promote the constant accumulation of it. It is clear, therefore, that, on the whole, the public derives no commercial advantage from the colonies, which it might not have without them.

They do not even afford any advantage, as some persons suppose, by enlarging the field for the employment of capital; for there are still means enough for employing capital with profit at home; and if new means were wanting, they would be more effectually obtained by removing restrictions on trade and revising the taxes, than by increased trade in the colonies.

This general reasoning, which the principles of trade suggest, in refutation of the imaginary advantages of colonies, is completely borne out by the experience of facts. The history of the colonies for many years is that of a series of loss, and of the destruction of capital; and if to the many millions of private capital, which have been thus wasted, were added some hundred millions that have been raised by British taxes, and spent on account of the colonies, the total loss to the British public of wealth, which the colonies have occasioned, would appear to be quite enormous.

The only conditions on which it can be wise and politic for us to continue to keep colonial possessions are, that the number of them should be greatly reduced; and that those which we retain should contribute the whole expense incurred in their defence. Even with such conditions, no advantage would be gained, now or at any other time, unless the planters should prosper and accumulate wealth, and thus add to the general stock of public wealth. It is in order to secure this object that the public is particularly interested in giving to the colonies the full benefit of that perfect system of free trade, which everything connected with colonial reform and retrenchment shews to be wise and politic.

Dr. Chalmers, in referring to the peace of 1763, says, "The true objection to this peace was, not that we had retained too little, but that we had retained too much;" namely, Canada, Louisiana, Florida, Granada, Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Senegal. "Millions," he adds, "of productive capital were withdrawn from the agriculture, manufactures, and trade of Great Britain to cultivate the ceded islands in the other hemisphere: domestic occupations were obstructed and circulation stopped, in proportion to the stock withdrawn, to the industry enfeebled, and to the ardour turned to less salutary objects."

In settling the conditions of the last treaty of peace, it was most unwise to retain so many of the conquered colonies. Trinidad, Demerara, Essequibo, and Tobago, were but little advanced in cultivation; a large transfer of capital was necessary for their cultivation, and there was little or no local revenue belonging to them.

At the close of the war, the East India Company was anxious to be allowed to have the Island of Ceylon, and it is not too late to give it up to them; but, as large sums of public money have been expended since the war in adding to its value, the Company should repay a large part of them, as the condition of becoming masters of this island.

As the Cape of Good Hope and the Mauritius are of no use except for the defence of the East India Company's possessions, the Company ought to be called on to defray all the expense of their military protection; and it is to be hoped that the opportunity, which the expiration of the Charter of the Company will offer, will lead to an arrangement which will secure all these objects.

When peace was made in 1814, the English government wished to let Austria have the Ionian Islands, but France would not agree to this arrangement. There can be no real use in keeping these islands, with Malta and Gibraltar in our hands.

The settlement of Sierra Leone and the military posts on the west coast of Africa should be given up. The public derives no benefit from these possessions, either in a commercial or military point of view; and with respect to the slave trade, the use they are of in contributing to put it down is so questionable, as not to justify the waste of money, and of human life, which they occasion.

With respect to Canada, (including our other possessions on the continent of North America,) no case can be made out to shew that we should not have every commercial advantage we are supposed now to have, if it were made an

independent state. Neither our manufactures, foreign commerce, nor shipping, would be injured by such a measure. On the other hand, what has the nation lost by Canada? Fifty or sixty millions have already been expended; the annual charge on the British treasury is full 600,000*l.* a year; and we learn from the Second Report of the Committee of Finance, that a plan of fortifying Canada has been for two or three years in progress, which is to cost 3,000,000*l.*

Sir Henry Parnell, *On Financial Reform* (London, 1830), 250-257.

140. The Light Brigade at Balaklava (1854)

. . . Supposing the spectator, then, to take his stand on one of the heights forming the rear of our camp before Sebastopol, he would have seen the town of Balaklava, with its scanty shipping, its narrow strip of water, and its old forts, on his right hand; immediately below he would have beheld the valley and plain of coarse meadow land, occupied by our cavalry tents, and stretching from the base of the ridge on which he stood to the foot of the formidable heights at the other side; he would have seen the French trenches lined with Zouaves a few feet beneath, and distant from him, on the slope of the hill; a Turkish redoubt lower down, then another in the valley, then, in a line with it, some angular earthworks; then, in succession, the other two redoubts up to Canrobert's Hill.

At the distance of two or two and a half miles across the valley is an abrupt rocky mountain range of most irregular and picturesque formation, covered with scanty brushwood here and there, or rising into barren pinnacles and *plateaux*

SIR WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL (1820-), the first great war correspondent. He has acted as special correspondent of the *London Times* in most of the important wars since 1850, the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the American Civil War, the war between Austria and Prussia, the Franco-German War, in South Africa in 1879, in Egypt in 1883. His

Letters and Diaries afford a clear and vivid record of these various contests.

See Tennyson's poem, *The Charge of the Light Brigade*.

Captain Nolan was killed in the charge.

Lord Raglan was com-

of rock. In outline and appearance this portion of the landscape was wonderfully like the Trosachs. A patch of blue sea was caught in between the overhanging cliffs of Balaklava as they closed in the entrance to the harbour on the right. The camp of the Marines, pitched on the hill sides more than 1000 feet above the level of the sea, was opposite to the spectator as his back was turned to Sebastopol and his right side towards Balaklava. . . .

Soon after occurred the glorious catastrophe which filled us all with sorrow. It appeared that the Quartermaster-General, Brigadier Airey, thinking that the Light Cavalry had not gone far enough in front when the enemy's horse had fled, gave an order in writing to Captain Nolan, 15th Hussars, to take to Lord Lucan, directing his Lordship "to advance" his cavalry nearer to the enemy. A braver soldier than Captain Nolan the army did not possess. . . . I had the pleasure of his acquaintance, and I know he entertained the most exalted opinions respecting the capabilities of the English horse soldier. Properly led, the British Hussar and Dragoon could in his mind break square, take batteries, ride over columns of infantry, and pierce any other cavalry in the world as if they were made of straw. He thought they had not had the opportunity of doing all that was in their power, and that they had missed even such chances as had been offered to them — that in fact, they were in some measure disgraced. A matchless horseman and a first-rate swordsman, he held in contempt, I am afraid, even grape and canister. He rode off with his orders to Lord Lucan.

. . . When Lord Lucan received the order from Captain Nolan, and had read it, he asked, we are told, "Where are we to advance to?" Captain Nolan pointed with his finger to the line of the Russians, and said, "There are the enemy, and there are the guns," or words to that effect, according to the statements made after his death.

It must be premised that Lord Raglan had in the morn-

Light Brigade at Balaklava 429

ing only ordered Lord Lucan to move from the position he had taken near the centre redoubt to "the left of the second line of redoubts occupied by the Turks." Seeing that the 93rd and invalids were cut off from the aid of the cavalry, Lord Raglan sent another order to Lord Lucan to send his heavy horse towards Balaklava, and that officer was executing it just as the Russian horse came over the ridge. The Heavy Cavalry charge took place, and afterwards the men dismounted on the scene of it. After an interval of half an hour, Lord Raglan again sent an order to Lord Lucan—"Cavalry to advance and take advantage of any opportunity to recover the heights. They will be supported by infantry, which has been ordered to advance upon two fronts." Lord Raglan's reading of this order is, that the infantry had been ordered to advance on two fronts; but no such interpretation is borne out by the wording of the order. It does not appear either that the infantry had received orders to advance, for the Duke of Cambridge and Sir G. Cathcart state they were not in receipt of such instruction. Lord Lucan advanced his cavalry to the ridge, close to No. 5 redoubt, and while there received from Captain Nolan an order which is, verbatim, as follows:—"Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy, and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns; troops of Horse Artillery may accompany. French cavalry is on your left. Immediate."

Lord Lucan with reluctance gave the order to Lord Cardigan to advance upon the guns, conceiving that his orders compelled him to do so, . . . It is a maxim of war, that "cavalry never act without a support," that "infantry should be close at hand when cavalry carry guns, as the effect is only instantaneous," and that it is necessary to have on the flank of a line of cavalry some squadrons in column, the attack on the flank being most dangerous. The only support our light cavalry had was the reserve of heavy cavalry

mander-in-chief of the British forces.

This is the order dictated to General Airey, and carried by Captain Nolan.

The guns which Lord Raglan meant were those recently captured from the English. The guns upon which Lord Cardigan was ordered to advance were

a Russian
battery in
position.

at a great distance behind them, the infantry and guns being far in the rear. There were no squadrons in column at all, and there was a plain to charge over, before the enemy's guns could be reached, of a mile and a half in length.

At ten minutes past eleven our Light Cavalry Brigade advanced. The whole Brigade scarcely made one effective regiment, according to the numbers of continental armies; and yet it was more than we could spare. As they rushed towards the front, the Russians opened on them from the guns in the redoubt on the right, with volleys of musketry and rifles. They swept proudly past, glittering in the morning sun in all the pride and splendour of war. We could scarcely believe our senses! Surely that handful of men were not going to charge an army in position? . . . They advanced in two lines, quickening their pace as they closed towards the enemy. A more fearful spectacle was never witnessed by those who, without power to aid, beheld their heroic countrymen rushing to the arms of death. At the distance of 1200 yards, the whole line of the enemy belched forth, from thirty iron mouths, a flood of smoke and flame, through which hissed the deadly balls. Their flight was marked by instant gaps in our ranks, by dead men and horses, by steeds flying wounded or riderless across the plain. The first line was broken — it was joined by the second, they never halted or checked their speed an instant. With diminished ranks, thinned by those thirty guns, which the Russians had laid with the most deadly accuracy, with a halo of flashing steel above their heads, and with a cheer which was many a noble fellow's death-cry, they flew into the smoke of the batteries; but ere they were lost from view, the plain was strewn with their bodies and with the carcasses of horses. They were exposed to an oblique fire from the batteries on the hills on both sides, as well as to the direct fire of musketry.

Through the clouds of smoke we could see their sabres flashing as they rode up to the guns and dashed between them, cutting down the gunners as they stood. We saw them riding through the guns, as I have said; to our delight we saw them returning, after breaking through a column of Russian infantry, and scattering them like chaff, when the flank fire of the battery on the hill swept them down. Wounded men and dismounted troopers flying towards us told the sad tale—demi-gods could not have done what they had failed to do. At the very moment when they were about to retreat a regiment of Lancers was hurled upon their flank. Colonel Shewell, of the 8th Hussars, whose attention was drawn to them by Lieutenant Phillips, saw the danger, and rode his few men straight at them, cutting his way through with fearful loss. . . . It was as much as our Heavy Cavalry Brigade could do to cover the retreat of the miserable remnants of that band of heroes as they returned to the place they had so lately quitted in all the pride of life. At thirty-five minutes past eleven not a British soldier, except the dead and dying, was left in front of these bloody Muscovite guns.

Of the 673 men who went into action more than one-third were killed or wounded.

Sir William Russell, *Letters from the Crimea* (London, 1858), 183, 189-192.

141. Lord Aberdeen and the Crimean War (1855)

I have never entertained the least doubt of the justice of the war in which we are at present engaged. It is unquestionably just, and it is also strongly marked by a character of disinterestedness. But although just and disinterested, the policy and the necessity of this war may perhaps be less certain. It is possible that our posterity may form a dif-

By GEORGE HAMILTON-GORDON, EARL OF ABERDEEN (1784-1860), statesman. Lord Aberdeen was Secretary for Foreign Affairs with Wellington and Peel. His policy

was one of non-intervention. Notably in relation with the United States his conduct of foreign affairs was conciliatory and courteous. In 1852 he became prime minister with a cabinet which included Russell, Palmerston, and Gladstone. The outbreak of trouble in the East brought this brilliant ministry to an untimely end. Anxious to maintain peace Aberdeen was forced into the Crimean war by circumstances and the pressure of the war party led by Palmerston. The ministry was unfairly blamed for disasters due chiefly to a defective military system, and in 1855 it resigned.—For Aberdeen, see Sir Arthur Gordon, *The Earl of*

ferent estimate on this head from that at which we have arrived.

The policy, or necessity, of any war must always be, more or less, the subject of doubt, and must vary according to a change of circumstances. This is not matter of immutable principle, but may be affected by an infinite variety of considerations. It is true that every necessary war must also really be a just war; but it does not absolutely follow that every just war must also be a necessary war.

Be this as it may, it is perfectly clear that a vast majority of the people of this country entertain no doubt on the subject, but are thoroughly convinced that the war is both just and necessary, and, as such, are prepared to give it their cordial support.

Now, with the existence of so strong and general a feeling, it seems almost to partake of arrogance to demur in any degree to these conclusions, and to resist the weight of the popular voice.

But a reference to history may prevent us from subscribing implicitly to such demonstrations of opinion. It is enough to recall to recollection that, when Sir Robert Walpole was reluctantly drawn into his Spanish war, the country was quite as unanimous as — perhaps more so than — at the present moment. Yet, in spite of such unanimity, there is no man who would now hesitate to declare that the war in question was both unjust and unnecessary.

The national feeling at that period was excited under circumstances in some degree similar to the present. At that period a peace of thirty years had rendered the minds of men more easy to be roused by appeals which had all the character of novelty; and at the present day I believe that our forty years' peace has rendered the nation more ready to receive the excitement and to encounter the unknown evils of a state of war. I am very far from meaning to

assert that the people did not entertain a strong feeling of indignation against injustice and of sympathy for the oppressed. Their natural feelings are always generous; but I doubt if this impulse would have led to the same results if it had been called into action at an earlier period after the conclusion of the late war. Indeed, I have had personal experience of the truth of this opinion; for in the war which Russia declared against Turkey in the year 1828, although equally unjust and unprovoked, the people of this country saw the Russian troops advance almost to the gates of Constantinople with comparative indifference; and the Government of the Duke of Wellington, who wished to uphold the interests of the Porte, met with no response from Parliament or the people, but were thought to espouse the cause of tyranny, ignorance, and barbarism.

Aberdeen.
See also
P. 447.

The note
here given
was written
by Lord
Aberdeen in
1855.

Lord Aber-
deen was at
the time
Secretary of
State for
Foreign
Affairs.

The Earl of Aberdeen (Sir Arthur Gordon, *The Earl of Aberdeen*, London, 1893, 303, 304).

142. A Poet's View of the Crimean War (1855)

And it was but a dream, yet it lighten'd my despair
When I thought that a war would arise in defence of the
right,

That an iron tyranny now should bend or cease,
The glory of manhood stand on his ancient height,
Nor Britain's one sole God be the millionaire:
No more shall commerce be all in all, and Peace
Pipe on her pastoral hillock a languid note,
And watch her harvest ripen, her herd increase,
Nor the cannon-bullet rust on a slothful shore,
And the cobweb woven across the cannon's throat
Shall shake its threaded tears in the wind no more.

By ALFRED,
LORD
TENNYSON
(1809-1892),
poet laureate.
This extract
is from the
dramatic
monologue,
Maud, which
appeared in
1855, and
excited
hardly less
criticism for
the political
sentiments it
contained
than admira-
tion for its
poetical
beauty.
Whether or
no it ex-

pressed the
poet's own
views, it
spoke the
popular feel-
ing towards
the Crimean
War.

And as months ran on and rumour of battle grew,
'It is time, it is time, O passionate heart,' said I
(For I cleaved to a cause that I felt to be pure and true),
'It is time, O passionate heart and morbid eye,
That old hysterical mock-disease should die.'
And I stood on a giant deck and mix'd my breath
With a loyal people shouting a battle cry,
Till I saw the dreary phantom arise and fly
Far into the North, and battle, and seas of death.

Let it go or stay, so I wake to the higher aims
Of a land that has lost for a little her lust of gold,
And love of a peace that was full of wrongs and shames,
Horrible, hateful, monstrous, not to be told;
And hail once more to the banner of battle unroll'd!
Tho' many a light shall darken, and many shall weep
For those that are crush'd in the clash of jarring claims.
Yet God's just wrath shall be wreak'd on a giant liar;
And many a darkness into the light shall leap,
And shine in the sudden making of splendid names,
And noble thought be freer under the sun,
And the heart of a people beat with one desire;
For the peace, that I deem'd no peace, is over and done,
And now by the side of the Black and the Baltic deep,
And deathful-grinning mouths of the fortress, flames
The blood-red blossom of war with a heart of fire.

Let it flame or fade, and the war roll down like a wind,
We have proved we have hearts in a cause, we are noble
still,
And myself have awaked, as it seems, to the better mind;
It is better to fight for the good than to rail at the ill;
I have felt with my native land, I am one with my kind,
I embrace the purpose of God, and the doom assign'd.

The Outbreak at Lucknow 435

143. The Outbreak at Lucknow (1857)

By MRS.
G. HARRIS.

Tuesday, May 26.

Yesterday, at 3 o'clock A.M., we were roused by C. telling us to get up and dress ready for flight at the shortest notice. He had been sent for to the brigadier's, and great alarm prevailed, as the different guards were going to be changed, and then a rising was feared. Of course, we got up and dressed as expeditiously as possible, waiting C.'s return in fear and trembling. He came back at five with the longest and gravest face, announcing that it was Sir H. L.'s most peremptory order that every woman and child should leave cantonments immediately, and take refuge in the city Residency-house, which is fortified, barricaded, and *provisioned* for a regular siege. C. said the precaution was most necessary, as we were in frightful danger, and the horrors of Meerut and Delhi might at any moment overtake us, so we were not to delay. Poor Emmie was, as you may imagine, dreadfully upset at the idea of being sent away, and leaving Charlie to encounter such peril. The officers of the native regiments are to remain in the lines, and do all they can to keep their men quiet; but, if the outbreak takes place, they are to retreat with the 32nd on the Residency; and here we are to try and hold out as long as possible, till European troops come to our rescue. I do feel so sorry for E. and C., and so thankful that my dear husband's duty does not separate him from me. We put together all the things we had with us, and Emmie all her valuables, as quickly as we could, and came down here at once. On arriving we found all in such confusion at the Residency, all the unfortunate ladies and children hunting for quarters, that we were most thankful to accept an invitation from kind Dr. Fayrer to come to his house in the Residency compound; and here we are an

The siege of Lucknow was one of the famous episodes of the Indian Mutiny. As here described, towards the end of May the English in Lucknow took refuge in the Residency, leaving the town in the hands of the Sepoys. The actual siege began a month later, and was not raised until the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell on the 17th of November, 1857. Lucknow was not taken until March, 1858.

H. L. = Sir Henry Lawrence, one of the most famous of Indian administrators, and at this time in charge of Oudh. He was killed early in the siege. Fourteen years before the mutiny Lawrence had

expressed the fear that the native army, the force which had made the East India Company, might some day destroy it.

immense party of unprotected females, Mrs. Fayrer and I being the only ladies who have the comfort of our husbands. . . .

There are two civilians, Mr. Gubbins and Mr. Ommaney, whose houses attached to the Residency are also full to overflowing, and all the other ladies, about thirty in number, with children innumerable, are in the Residency, which also contains the sick and women and children of the 32nd. We have two companies of the 32nd and a battery of artillery to defend us, besides barricades erected at all the entrances and guns mounted all round the walls. E. and I have a small room together, and think ourselves most lucky in being so comfortable. In the Residency there are as many as eight and nine ladies with a dozen children in one room, and the heat is awful. J. sleeps in Dr. Fayrer's study. The reason of our all being packed off here in such a tremendous hurry was that the news from Cawnpore and other stations round was so alarming. An outbreak was expected every moment, and the effect of revolt at Cawnpore would be instantaneous mutiny at Lucknow. Sir H. L. did not impart all he knew, and we were kept in utter ignorance of what is going on in other parts of the country, but I believe our condition is frightful, and God only knows what the end of it will be. The panic in Calcutta they say is terrible. Native regiments there and at Barrackpore are mutinous to the heart's core; and if European troops do not soon come to our relief, there will be none perhaps left alive to tell the tale. Every station in the country is in equal danger. At Allyghur the 9th Native Infantry had the *consideration* to spare their officers' lives. They were permitted to escape, leaving all their property behind them. Lady Outram (the wife of Sir James, who is in Persia) was staying with her son at Allyghur, and obliged to run several miles, fleeing for her life. We are all most anxiously looking for news from Delhi: the army must have

arrived yesterday, and we trust such a signal vengeance will be taken on the desperate wretches who have shut themselves up there as shall intimidate any from attempting to follow their example. This seems to be our only hope; and if General Anson does not act with vigour, we shall be at the mercy of our enemies. Oh, my darling sister! you can little imagine what an awful position we are in, but God can help us. He only can. Since we left cantonments there has been no disturbance. C. came over this morning to see E., and reported all quiet and news good from Cawnpore. They were in hope the rising there would not take place; the troops had not actually mutinied, though in a very excited state. Part of the 84th (Queen's) will arrive this evening, and that gives us fresh hope and courage. The ladies at Cawnpore have taken refuge in the church, which is the only stone building, consequently not so easily set on fire. Oh! the accounts of the massacre and burnings at Meerut are something too horrible and make one's blood run cold. . . . The Punjab seems quiet, and no alarm felt there, — at least so the papers say.

Mrs. G. Harris, *A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow* (London, 1858), 20-24.

At the time of the outbreak the Sepoys numbered 350,000; the European garrison in India was about 25,000.

On the 15th of July all the European women and children at Cawnpore were massacred.

Sir John Lawrence, brother of Henry Lawrence, kept the Punjab from revolt.

144. John Company's Farewell to John Bull (1858)

MY DEAR JOHN, — In this solemn hour of my dissolution, as Time, the traveller, crosses the bridge between two great epochs, I bequeath to you, in a few hasty, but I trust coherent, sentences, the legacy of my advice. . . .

There is one thing, among others, John, against which I would warn you — and that is, what you are wont sometimes to call your "good English spirit." I like your patriotism,

ANONYMOUS. The East India Company, which was incorporated in 1600, was a close trading company. Originally it was independent of all control, but by Pitt's India Bill in 1783 a Board

of Control was established for the supervision of the policy and administration of the Company in India. In 1813 it lost the monopoly of the Indian trade, and in 1833 that of the China trade. The rule of great territories by a trading company had long been felt to be an anomaly, and the outbreak of the Sepoy Rebellion made a change inevitable. In 1858 Parliament passed the India Act, remodeling the government of India, and September 1 was the day set for the termination of the Company's rule. Henceforth, India was governed by a Secretary of State for India, acting through a Viceroy and two Indian Councils.

The origin of the term John Com-

John — I like your pluck. You have many good and noble qualities, and I would not wish you to think meanly of yourself. The self-respect of nations is a great thing, but it has a tendency to inflate itself into presumption; and there is often an arrogance in your tone, and an exclusiveness in your manner, which would be ridiculous if they were not dangerous. You sometimes think, I am afraid, John, that all the world was made for you. You go among a strange people, and you are angry because their ways are not your ways; you think that they are little better than brute beasts, because their customs differ from your own. If you carried a hump upon your back, John, you would think every man deformed without a similar excrescence. If you had but one eye, John, you would treat binocular vision as a national offence. If you wore a tail, you would regard it as the type of an exceptional civilisation.

It is this intense self-appreciation, John, which makes you so indifferent a citizen of the world. Whilst your unappeasable enterprise and your indomitable energy make for you new homes in every corner of the globe, you can seldom make yourself at home without first expelling the old inmates of your new dwelling-place. Where you colonise, the aborigines disappear. In India, you do not attempt to colonise; and you never make yourself at home. But you carry the same exclusive, absorbing spirit of self-assertion with you. The millions by whom you are surrounded exist in your imagination only for your use. There they are, so many "niggers," John — so many "black fellows" to work for you, to fight for you, to die for you, to render up their substance to you, to be shaped according to the rule and plummet of your home-bred notions. All that belongs to them is wrong, all that belongs to you is right. You cannot for a moment divest yourself of your individuality, and look at the questions before you from any other than your own point of view. "India for

the English" is your cry. The children of the soil have long been in your estimation so many stocks and stones. Men fresh from England, with hot English blood in them, are prone to violence; and hundreds, who would not lift up their hands against an English beggar in the street, have been wont to strike their Mohammedan and Hindoo servants as though they were beasts of burden or mere insensate machines. They who are ordinarily considerate in their language and their demeanour towards the natives of India, are men who have resided long in India, who know the people, and who speak their language; or those who, lacking much Indian experience, are moved by the traditions at which, John, you are prone to sneer. You talk about offices in India being heirlooms in certain families; you say that you wish to see new names in the lists of the Indian services; and that you would fain see those services overborne by an independent European community. My exclusiveness has often excited your vehement indignation. Your theory was right, John. But, practically, this exclusiveness had its uses. There was a traditional interest in India—a traditional kindness for the people kept alive in many families. It was no uncommon thing for a young civilian or a young soldier, on landing in India, to be met by one of the native servants who had dandled him in his boyhood, eager to see "Harry baba," and, perhaps, to follow his fortunes. Youths of this stamp, born in India, and taught to look to India as their future home, if not somewhat denationalised, John, were at all events less encumbered with the national self-love of which I have been speaking. Their good English spirit did not teach them to hate or to despise the "niggers." They had learned better thoughts and better feelings from their parents. It is not from the mouth of the "old Indian," even now, that you will hear the people of India, as a nation, sweepingly condemned.

pany, is obscure. It may be a native corruption of Hon. Company, a common abbreviation of the official title, The Honourable East India Company.

See R. Kipling, *The Tombs of his Ancestors*.

Now, what I am afraid of, John, is, that under the new system a new race of men, without any of these old traditions and family ties, will make their way to India, with new English notions, and that of these notions one of the most prominent will be that a common detestation of the natives is the paramount duty of every Englishman. It is true that many dire atrocities have been committed during the past calamitous year. It is natural that we should hate these iniquities, or even the perpetrators of these iniquities; but to hate a whole nation is a very different thing. When we consider the immense population of India, and the small proportion that has actually risen against us, we cannot but regard the active hostility, out of which these atrocities have proceeded, as of an exceptional character — why, then, should it influence our feelings towards the great mass of the people? I confess, John, that, in spite of all that has happened, I have a kindness towards the people of India; and a profound conviction that, if you do not entertain similar feelings of kindness, you will never be able to govern the country. . . . Mistrust yourself, then, John. Think whether all this would have happened in India if you had been the faultless monster which you believe yourself to be.

But I am not going to open old sores, John. You may have been to blame — I may have been to blame. What it most behoves us now to regard is the Future. There is an evil, and a remedy must be applied. But what is that remedy to be? I know that you are ready with an answer, John — “Anglicism;” — on a large scale, Anglicism; — English troops; English law; English language; English religion; English everything. Turn your millions of Hindostanee subjects into Englishmen, and all will go well. My dear John, you cannot turn them into Englishmen. You must be content, for many a long year, to see them what they now are. Keep back from Anglicism. The less

obtrusive, in the present state of affairs, that you make it, the better. English troops you must have; but you can never hold India by the brute force of English troops. It is not the physical strength, it is the moral impression of the dominant race to which you must trust for the retention of your hold upon the country. Nobly, John — gloriously, John — have you shown them, during this last calamitous year, what a handful of this dominant race can do against teeming thousands of subject mutineers. Never have the fortitude, the perseverance, the indomitable energy, the mighty patience of the Anglo-Saxon race been so signally demonstrated in the face of such gigantic difficulties. And the triumph, which, under Providence, will ere long be complete, may make you, if you use the opportunity wisely, even stronger than before.

Use it, then, wisely. Throw away utterly the thought of ever ruling such a country by an overawing display of military force. Having exhausted your mother country, John, you may indent upon your colonies for the raw material of soldiers; and you may exert yourself to keep up an unextinguishable hatred between race and race; but, relying upon this, John, you must at last be driven into the sea. Keep up such an European force in India as the exigencies of your own country will allow you to do, but only that your clemency may not be misinterpreted into weakness. You can best afford to be merciful, you can best afford to be tolerant and conciliatory, when you stand in such an attitude of strength that mildness cannot be mistaken for cowardice, or forbearance for indecision. Having shown what you can do, John, you may gain credit for not doing it any more. Therefore, I say, keep up your military strength, but use it only under great provocation. . . .

Now, after your English hatred, John, I must talk to you of your English greed. This is of two kinds — national and personal. I grieve to say, that of late years, under my

rule, there has sprung up a class of Anglo-Indian politicians, hot for the annexation, the absorption of the native states, who believe that the security of England in India lies in the continual extension of her frontier. Unhappily, John, many of the members of this school are very able men, and some, too, are very good ones. But, believe me, it is a bad school. Its theories must be exploded, its practice must be reversed, if you would long retain your empire in the East. If the wishes of this school had been fulfilled—if its advice had been followed—no human power would have enabled you successfully to resist the mutiny of the Bengal army. Humanly speaking, John, you have been saved by your alliances with the few remaining native states. Let the few which now remain, remain for ever. Do not seek to weaken, but to strengthen them. Let them feel that the main source of their stability is the permanence of your rule. Respect their rights; tolerate their failures; and, above all, do not test them with the gauge of your own exclusive theories. . . .

Stifle that cry of "India for the English." Do not suffer the doctrine which it expresses to make way, any more in its personal than in its national acceptance. Do not think that the country was given to us only as an outlet for English enterprise and a field for English industry. These things, in due moderation, may be advantageous to India; but your first care should ever be, John, the employment of the people. . . . But what is now the cry, John? More Englishmen. Everywhere, more Englishmen in the public service; more Englishmen in the law-courts; more Englishmen to develop the commercial resources of the country, and even to become possessors of the soil. But do you think, John, that the people of India are more likely to reconcile themselves to your rule, when they find that the recent crisis has only given an increased impulse to the usurpations of the white man; that the subsiding of the

waters of rebellion will be followed by a flooding in of hungry Englishmen? . . .

And now, John, hear my last words. I commit to your hands a mighty trust, a gigantic responsibility. The task which lies before you is self-imposed; and therefore the greater the disgrace of failure. You have forcibly wrested from me the empire which I won in spite of myself. No one, with any knowledge of my antecedents, believes that I ever desired to be the master of two hundred millions of Asiatics. In the old times, my instructions ever were, "Do not fortify, do not fight." Circumstances over which I had no control compelled my servants to fortify and to fight, and so, little by little, my empire has sprung up, and my Government has been the growth of circumstances. If I did not rule my empire successfully, there was little shame in my want of success. I did my best as a ruler, though it was my ambition to be simply a trader. You took from me my trade, and told me only to govern. For a quarter of a century I have given myself up undividedly to the work of government; and now, because that has happened to me which has happened to every Indian Government, you have been pleased to say that I have failed: If I had failed, we should not be masters of India. . . .

. . . The empire of the East India Company is a great fact, which generation after generation, in every quarter of the globe, will contemplate with reverential wonder. You may keep it, or you may lose it, John; but you cannot take from me the glory of having been, under Providence, the founder of that empire. The Past is everything to me; the Future is everything to you. Think solemnly upon that Future. Be resolute; be calm. Above all, resist popular clamours—or rather, the clamours of selfish classes. Do not suffer India to be governed by a series of concessions to interested cries. You have a hard part to play, John. Play it bravely. Your work, for some time to come, must

be a work of continued resistance. Think, in quiet hours, of what I have said to you; and if you regard my counsel as honestly as it is given to you, be sure that some day you will bless the memory of

JOHN COMPANY.

Blackwood's Magazine, September, 1858, 338-351 *passim*.

145. The "Trent" Affair (1861)

By JOHN BRIGHT (1811-1889), the great peace statesman of the century, and the first Protestant non-conformist to become a Minister of the crown since the Restoration. Bright did not hesitate to set himself in opposition to the passions and prejudices of his countrymen. He entered public life in connection with the Anti-Corn Law League, he opposed the Crimean War, he upheld the North in the American Civil War. "He was the greatest master of English oratory that this

Now I am obliged to say — and I say it with the utmost pain — that if we have not done things that are plainly hostile to the North, and if we have not expressed affection for slavery, and, outwardly and openly, hatred for the Union, — I say that there has not been that friendly and cordial neutrality which, if I had been a citizen of the United States, I should have expected; and I say further, that, if there has existed considerable irritation at that, it must be taken as a measure of the high appreciation which the people of those States place upon the opinion of the people of England. If I had been addressing this audience ten days ago, so far as I know, I should have said just what I have said now; and although, by an untoward event, circumstances are somewhat, even considerably, altered, yet I have thought it desirable to make this statement, with a view, so far as I am able to do it, to improve the opinion of England, and to assuage feelings of irritation in America, if there be any, so that no further difficulties may arise in the progress of this unhappy strife.

But there has occurred an event which was announced to us only a week ago, which is one of great importance, and it may be one of some peril. It is asserted that what is called 'international law' has been broken by the seizure of the Southern Commissioners on board an English trad-

ing steamer by a steamer of war of the United States. Now, what is international law? You have heard that the opinions of the law officers of the Crown are in favour of this view of the case — that the law has been broken. I am not at all going to say that it has not. It would be imprudent in me to set my opinion on a legal question which I have only partially examined, against their opinion on the same question, which I presume they have carefully examined. But this I say, that international law is not to be found in an act of Parliament — it is not in so many clauses. You know that it is difficult to find the law. I can ask the Mayor, or any magistrate around me, whether it is not very difficult to find the law, even when you have found the act of Parliament, and found the clause. But when you have no act of Parliament, and no clause, you may imagine that the case is still more difficult.

generation —
I may say
several gen-
erations —
have seen."
— Lord Salis-
bury.

Now, maritime law, or international law, consists of opinions and precedents for the most part, and it is very unsettled. The opinions are the opinions of men of different countries, given at different times; and the precedents are not always like each other. The law is very unsettled, and, for the most part, I believe it to be exceedingly bad. In past times, as you know from the histories you read, this country has been a fighting country; we have been belligerents, and, as belligerents, we have carried maritime law, by our own powerful hand, to a pitch that has been very oppressive to foreign, and especially so, to neutral nations. Well, now, for the first time unhappily, — almost for the first time in our history for the last two hundred years, — we are not belligerents, but neutrals; and we are disposed to take, perhaps, rather a different view of maritime and international law.

Now, the act which has been committed by the American steamer, in my opinion, whether it was legal or not, was both impolitic and bad. That is my opinion. I think it

The American Government disavowed the act of the captain of the *San Jacinto*, and released the captives.

may turn out, almost certainly, that, so far as the taking of those men from that ship was concerned, it was an act wholly unknown to, and unauthorized by, the American Government. And if the American Government believe, on the opinion of their law officers, that the act is illegal, I have no doubt they will make fitting reparation; for there is no Government in the world that has so strenuously insisted upon modifications of international law, and been so anxious to be guided always by the most moderate and merciful interpretation of that law.

Now, our great advisers of *The Times* newspaper have been persuading people that this is merely one of a series of acts which denote the determination of the Washington Government to pick a quarrel with the people of England. Did you ever know anybody who was not very nearly dead drunk, who, having as much upon his hands as he could manage, would offer to fight everybody about him? Do you believe that the United States Government, presided over by President Lincoln, so constitutional in all his acts, so moderate as he has been — representing at this moment that great party in the United States, happily now in the ascendancy, which has always been especially in favour of peace, and especially friendly to England — do you believe that such a Government, having now upon its hands an insurrection of the most formidable character in the South, would invite the armies and the fleets of England to combine with that insurrection, and, it might be, to render it impossible that the Union should ever again be restored? I say, that single statement, whether it came from a public writer or a public speaker, is enough to stamp him for ever with the character of being an insidious enemy of both countries.

Well, now, what have we seen during the last week? People have not been, I am told — I have not seen much of it — quite as calm as sensible men should be. Here is

a question of law. I will undertake to say that when you have from the United States Government—if they think the act legal—a statement of their view of the case, they will show you that, fifty or sixty years ago, during the wars of that time, there were scores of cases that were at least as bad as this, and some infinitely worse. And if it were not so late to-night, and I am not anxious now to go into the question further, I could easily place before you cases of extreme outrage committed by us when we were at war, and for many of which, I am afraid, little or no reparation was offered. But let us bear this in mind, that during this struggle incidents and accidents will happen. Bear in mind the advice of Lord Stanley, so opportune and so judicious. Do not let your newspapers, or your public speakers, or any man, take you off your guard, and bring you into that frame of mind under which your Government, if it desires war, may be driven to engage in it; for one may be almost as fatal and as evil as the other.

What can be more monstrous than that we, as we call ourselves, to some extent, an educated, a moral, and a Christian nation—at a moment when an accident of this kind occurs, before we have made a representation to the American Government, before we have heard a word from it in reply—should be all up in arms, every sword leaping from its scabbard, and every man looking about for his pistols and his blunderbusses? I think the conduct pursued—and I have no doubt just the same is pursued by a certain class in America—is much more the conduct of savages than of Christian and civilized men. No, let us be calm. You recollect how we were dragged into the Russian war—how we 'drifted' into it. You know that I, at least, have not upon my head any of the guilt of that fearful war. You know that it cost one hundred millions of money to this country; that it cost at least the lives of forty thousand Englishmen; that it disturbed your trade; that it nearly

Bright made
some of his
finest
speeches
against the
Crimean

War, and
lost his seat
in Parliament
because of
his action.

doubled the armies of Europe; that it placed the relations of Europe on a much less peaceful footing than before; and that it did not effect one single thing of all those that it was promised to effect.

I recollect speaking on this subject, within the last two years, to a man whose name I have already mentioned, Sir James Graham, in the House of Commons. He was a Minister at the time of that war. He was reminding me of a severe onslaught which I had made upon him and Lord Palmerston for attending a dinner at the Reform Club when Sir Charles Napier was appointed to the command of the Baltic fleet; and he remarked, 'What a severe thrashing' I had given them in the House of Commons! I said, 'Sir James, tell me candidly, did you not deserve it?' He said, 'Well, you were entirely right about that war; we were entirely wrong, and we never should have gone into it!' And this is exactly what everybody will say, if you go into a war about this business, when it is over. When your sailors and soldiers, so many of them as may be slaughtered, are gone to their last account; when your taxes are increased, your business permanently — it may be — injured, and when embittered feelings for generations have been created between America and England — then your statesmen will tell you that 'we ought not to have gone into the war.'

But they will very likely say, as many of them tell me, 'What could we do in the frenzy of the public mind?' Let them not add to the frenzy, and let us be careful that nobody drives us into that frenzy. Remembering the past, remembering at this moment the perils of a friendly people, and seeing the difficulties by which they are surrounded, let us, I entreat of you, see if there be any real moderation in the people of England, and if magnanimity, so often to be found amongst individuals, is absolutely wanting in a great nation. . . .

John Bright, Speech on the "Trent" Affair at a Public Banquet,

Rochdale, Dec. 4, 1861 (James E. Thorold Rogers, *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy by John Bright, M. P.*, London, 1868, 188-193).

146. A Recantation (1865)

You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier,
 You, who with mocking pencil wont to trace,
 Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
 His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face,

His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt, bristling hair,
 His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
 His lack of all we prize as debonair,
 Of power or will to shine, of art to please.

You whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,
 Judging each step, as though the way were plain:
 Reckless, so it could point its paragraph,
 Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain.

Beside this corpse, that bears for winding-sheet
 The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew,
 Between the mourners at his head and feet,
 Say, scurril-jester, is there room for *you*?

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer,
 To lame my pencil and confute my pen —
 To make me own this hind of princes peer,
 This rail-splitter a true-born king of men.

My shallow judgment I had learnt to rue,
 Noting how to occasion's height he rose,
 How his quaint wit made home-truth seem more true,
 How, iron-like, his temper grew by blows.

ANONY-
 MOUS. The
London
Punch, like
 many of the
 English
 papers,
 underwent
 several
 changes of
 feeling in the
 course of the
 American
 Civil War.
 At the outset
 it was dis-
 posed to be
 friendly to
 the North.
 Later it took
 an attitude
 that was un-
 sympathetic
 toward both
 sides. What-
 ever words of
 praise it had
 to bestow
 were for the
 South. For
 the North it
 had nothing
 but contempt
 and criticism.
 Its attacks
 were directed
 especially
 against Lin-
 coln. Before
 the close its
 tone began
 to change.
 Its final posi-
 tion is well
 shown here.

How humble yet how hopeful he could be :
How in good fortune and in ill the same :
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

He went about his work — such work as few
Ever had laid on head and heart and hand —
As one who knows, where there's a task to do,
Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace command ;

Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,
That God makes instruments to work his will,
If but that will we can arrive to know,
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.

So he went forth to battle, on the side
That he felt clear was Liberty's and Right's,
As in his peasant boyhood he had plied
His warfare with rude Nature's thwarting mights —

The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron-bark, that turns the lumberer's axe,
The rapid, that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks,

The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear —
Such were the needs that helped his youth to train :
Rough culture — but such trees large fruit may bear
If but their stocks be of right girth and grain.

So he grew up, a destined work to do,
And lived to do it : four long-suffering years'
Ill-fate, ill-feeling, ill-report, lived through,
And then he heard the hisses change to cheers,

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,
And took both with the same unwavering mood:
Till, as he came on light, from darkling days,
And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood,

A felon hand, between the goal and him,
Reached from behind his back, a trigger prest, —
And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim,
Those gaunt, long-labouring limbs were laid to rest!

The words of mercy were upon his lips,
Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,
When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse
To thoughts of peace on earth, good-will to men.

The Old World and the New, from sea to sea,
Utter one voice of sympathy and shame!
Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat high,
Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came.

A deed accurst! Strokes have been struck before
By the assassin's hand, whereof men doubt
If more of horror or disgrace they bore;
But thy foul crime, like Cain's, stands darkly out,

Vile hand, that brandest murder on a strife,
Whate'er its grounds, stoutly and nobly striven;
And with the martyr's crown crownest a life
With much praise, little to be forgiven!

Anonymous, *Punch*, May 6, 1865.

By the RT.
HON. W. E.
FORSTER.
See No. 137.

During the last twenty-five years the movement for a closer union between England and her colonies has steadily gained ground.—On this subject, see G. Parkin, *Imperial Federation*.

147. Imperial Federation (1875)

. . . My answer is this, — I believe that our union with our Colonies will not be severed, because I believe that we and they will more and more prize this union, and become convinced that it can be preserved only by looking forward to association on equal terms; in other words, I believe that our Colonial Empire will last, because, no longer striving to rule our Colonies as dependencies when they become strong enough to be independent, we shall welcome them as our partners in a common and mighty Empire. But if this be all I have to say, why, I may be asked, come here at all? Who talks now of casting off the Colonies? What more popular cry at present than the preservation of our Colonial Empire? Some twelve years ago, it is true, a voice from Oxford declared this Empire to be an illusion for the future — a danger to the present; but Professor Goldwin Smith has gone to Canada, and his eloquent arguments for disruption have as little convinced the Canadians as ourselves. . . . There are some persons, perhaps not so many as a few years ago, who both desire and expect separation. But are there not very many who, though they do not desire it, expect that it will come, first or last, sooner or later — the later, indeed, the better; but who look forward to Canada choosing to leave us — to Australia and New Zealand and South Africa, one after the other, declaring their independence; who, in a word, believe that the children, when grown to full manhood, will set up house for themselves? . . . I could quote many authorities in support of this assertion had I time or were it necessary to do so, but I think it will hardly be disputed that this expectation does generally underlie the discussions between those who would and those who would not take immediate steps to hasten its fulfilment. For instance, Mr. Goldwin

Smith, in the book in which he republishes his letters on this subject to the *Daily News*, is able to show that *The Times* in one of its leaders, concludes an able reply to his argument for disruption by telling the people of the Colonies that "we do not pretend to deny that the time must come when they will no longer require our aid, and when it will be better for both that they should set up for themselves." . . . This expectation is no new notion. It was well expressed in 1856 by Mr. Arthur Mills, in his preface to his informing "Outlines of Colonial Constitutions." "To ripen these Constitutions," he says — that is, our Colonies — "to the earliest possible maturity, social, political, and commercial — to qualify them, by all the appliances within the reach of the parent State, for present self-government and eventual independence — is now the universally admitted aim of our Colonial policy." . . .

The duty of the day to our Colonial fellow-men is clear enough; but to me, at least, it is easier to fulfil this duty in a hopeful rather than in a desponding spirit; and if I agreed with the writer of *The Times* in his anticipations I admit that I should lend a willing ear to the arguments which that writer was answering. And, indeed, this is one of those anticipations, one of those prophecies, which fulfil themselves. Ideas are the rulers of the world. First or last they realize themselves, and become the facts of history. If, then, it is to be the prevalent idea in the minds of English-speaking men at home and abroad, that each Colony must become an independent nation when it has become powerful enough to protect itself, we may at once try to reconcile ourselves to the inevitable; give up the hope of continuing to girdle the world with our possessions; strive to convince ourselves that this hope is a foolish dream, that this boasted rule is but a vain show — a sacrifice of the reality of power to the pretence of *prestige*, and concentrate all our endeavours in the attempt to propitiate

the new nations, and obtain from them friendly consideration, as one by one they assert their independence, or, as it were, take up their nationality. But suppose that, in place of this idea, there comes to prevail another and a very different idea — namely, this: that our Colonies, when strong enough to be independent, will yet be stronger, more rich, more intelligent, able to be better, if still in union with ourselves; that their inhabitants will have greater opportunities, a wider scope, a possibility of a higher career, if continuing our fellow-countrymen; that in order to fulfil all the duties of free and civilized and self-governing men they need not cease to be British citizens; that they may have all the advantages of a nationality without disowning their allegiance, and that as they increase in strength and power so also shall we. If this, I say, become the prevalent idea, then this will be the idea that will realize itself, and our Colonial Empire may and will last. . . .

And this brings us to the practical question — are there any means by which it is possible that these future Commonwealths when no longer dependent, can be united with us and with one another? I may hasten at once to try to answer this question; for if it can be answered, that argument will be also met which I have already mentioned — namely, that separation would stimulate the colonies to greater progress and would increase their self-reliance. Surely it cannot be denied that if it be possible to replace dependence by association, each member of the federation would find in the common nationality at least as much scope for its aspirations, as much demand for the patriotism and the energy and the self-reliance of its citizens, as it would if trying to obtain a distinct nationality for itself.

But is this federation possible? There are many even of those who desire it who think that it is not. This opinion

chiefly depends upon the difficulties of distance. If, however, these difficulties have not prevented the government of a colony from England, why must they prevent the association of self-governing communities with England? . . . But the geographical argument, I am well aware, cannot be quite so easily disposed of. It would not be stating it fairly to make it depend solely upon the length of intervening miles between the several regions. It is said that the difference in local circumstances will produce such a disagreement in institutions and social arrangements as would make any political connexion undesirable. To this remark I can only reply that as yet this disagreement is not apparent, that the enormous majority of colonists themselves disclaim it, and that I can see no ground for believing in any irresistible tendency to its development. . . .

And now, if any one of you has followed me thus far in the line of thought which I have taken, he will, I think, be ready with the question, If you think the future association possible, if you see no insuperable physical or moral bar to prevent it, in what way do you expect it to be formed; what kind of federation do you propose? My reply is, I am ready with no proposition. I believe any precise proposition would be premature; and for this reason — that as yet no change in our relations is necessary. As Mr. Arthur Mills stated in the passage I have already quoted, "The present principle of our colonial policy is to ripen these communities to the earliest possible maturity;" and when they have obtained this maturity it will be for us and for them to consider what, under the circumstances then existing, will be the best bond of union. All that is required now is to imbue them and ourselves with the desire that the union should last, with the determination that the Empire shall not be broken up; to replace the idea of eventual independence, which means disunion, by that of association on equal terms, which means union. If this

be done we need not fear that, at the fitting time, this last idea will realize itself. . . .

Right Hon. W. E. Forster, *Address to the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution*, *London Times*, Nov. 6, 1875.

148. The Sirdar (1898)

By GEORGE WARRINGTON STEEVENS (1869-1900), journalist and war correspondent. His short, brilliant career ended at Ladysmith, where he died of fever during the siege, leaving his last work, *From Capetown to Ladysmith*, to be given to the world by another hand.

Major-General Sir Horatio Herbert Kitchener is forty-eight years old by the book; but that is irrelevant. He stands several inches over six feet, straight as a lance, and looks out imperiously above most men's heads; his motions are deliberate and strong; slender but firmly knit, he seems built for tireless, steel-wire endurance rather than for power or agility: that also is irrelevant. Steady, passionless eyes shaded by decisive brows, brick-red rather full cheeks, a long moustache beneath which you divine an immovable mouth; his face is harsh, and neither appeals for affection nor stirs dislike. All this is irrelevant too: neither age, nor figure, nor face, nor any accident of person, has any bearing on the essential Sirdar. You could imagine the character just the same if all the externals were different. He has no age but the prime of life, no body but one to carry his mind, no face but one to keep his brain behind. The brain and the will are the essence and the whole of the man — a brain and a will so perfect in their workings that, in the face of extremest difficulty, they never seem to know what struggle is. You cannot imagine the Sirdar otherwise than as seeing the right thing to do and doing it. His precision is so inhumanly unerring, he is more like a machine than a man. You feel that he ought to be patented and shown with pride at the Paris International Exhibition. British Empire: Exhibit No. 1, *hors concours*, the Sudan Machine.

It was aptly said of him by one who had closely watched him in his office, and in the field, and at mess, that he is the sort of feller that ought to be made manager of the Army and Navy Stores. The aphorist's tastes lay perhaps in the direction of those more genial virtues which the Sirdar does not possess, yet the judgment summed him up perfectly. He would be a splendid manager of the Army and Navy Stores. There are some who nurse a desperate hope that he may some day be appointed to sweep out the War Office. He would be a splendid manager of the War Office. He would be a splendid manager of anything.

But it so happens that he has turned himself to the management of war in the Sudan, and he is the complete and the only master of that art. Beginning life in the Royal Engineers — a soil reputed more favourable to machinery than to human nature — he early turned to the study of the Levant. He was one of Beaconsfield's military vice-consuls in Asia Minor; he was subsequently director of the Palestine Exploration Fund. At the beginning of the Sudan troubles he appeared. He was one of the original twenty-five officers who set to work on the new Egyptian army. And in Egypt and the Sudan he has been ever since — on the staff generally, in the field constantly, alone with natives often, mastering the problem of the Sudan always. The ripe harvest of fifteen years is that he knows everything that is to be learned of his subject. He has seen and profited by the errors of others as by their successes. He has inherited the wisdom and the achievements of his predecessors. He came at the right hour, and he was the right man.

. . . The Sirdar is never in a hurry. With immovable self-control he holds back from each step till the ground is consolidated under the last. The real fighting power of the Sudan lies in the country itself — in its barrenness which refuses food, and its vastness which paralyses trans-

port. The Sudan machine obviates barrenness and vastness: the bayonet action stands still until the railway action has piled the camp with supplies or the steamer action can run with a full Nile. Fighting men may chafe and go down with typhoid and cholera: they are in the iron grip of the machine, and they must wait the turn of its wheels. Dervishes wait and wonder, passing from apprehension to security. The Turks are not coming; the Turks are afraid. Then suddenly at daybreak one morning they see the Sirdar advancing upon them from all sides together, and by noon they are dead. Patient and swift, certain and relentless, the Sudan machine rolls conquering southward.

In the meantime, during all the years of preparation and achievement, the man has disappeared. The man Herbert Kitchener owns the affection of private friends in England and of old comrades of fifteen years' standing; for the rest of the world there is no man Herbert Kitchener, but only the Sirdar, neither asking affection nor giving it. His officers and men are wheels in the machine: he feeds them enough to make them efficient, and works them as mercilessly as he works himself. He will have no married officers in his army — marriage interferes with work. Any officer who breaks down from the climate goes on sick leave once: next time he goes, and the Egyptian army bears him on its strength no more. Asked once why he did not let his officers come down to Cairo during the season, he replied, "If it were to go home, where they would get fit and I could get more work out of them, I would. But why should I let them down to Cairo?" It is unamiable, but it is war, and it has a severe magnificence. And if you suppose, therefore, that the Sirdar is unpopular, he is not. No general is unpopular who always beats the enemy. When the columns move out of camp in the evening to march all night through the dark, they know not whither, and fight at dawn with an enemy they have never seen, every man goes

The Funeral of Gordon 459

forth with a tranquil mind. He may personally come back and he may not; but about the general result there is not a doubt. . . . Other generals have been better loved, none was ever better trusted.

. . . So far as Egypt is concerned he is the man of destiny — the man who has been preparing himself sixteen years for one great purpose. For Anglo-Egypt he is the Mahdi, the expected; the man who has sifted experience and corrected error; who has worked at small things and waited for great; marble to sit still and fire to smite; steadfast, cold, and inflexible; the man who has cut out his human heart and made himself a machine to retake Khartum.

G. W. Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum* (Edinburgh and London, 1898), 45-52.

149. The Funeral of Gordon (1898)

By GEORGE
WARRING-
TON STEEV-
ENS. See
No. 148.

. . . It was Sunday morning, and that furious Friday seemed already half a lifetime behind us. The volleys had dwindled out of our ears, and the smoke out of our nostrils; and to-day we were going to the funeral of Gordon. After nearly fourteen years the Christian soldier was to have Christian burial.

On the steamers there was a detachment of every corps, white or black or yellow, that had taken part in the vengeance. Every white officer that could be spared from duty was there, fifty men picked from each British battalion, one or two from each unit of the Egyptian army. That we were going up to Khartum at all was evidence of our triumph; yet, if you looked about you, triumph was not the note. The most reckless subaltern, the most barbarous black, was touched with gravity. We were going to per-

form a necessary duty, which had been put off far, far too long.

Fourteen years next January—yet even through that humiliating thought there ran a whisper of triumph. We may be slow; but in that very slowness we show that we do not forget. Soon or late, we give our own their due. Here were men that fought for Gordon's life while he lived, — Kitchener, who went disguised and alone among furious enemies to get news of him; Wauchope, who poured out his blood like water at Tamai and Kirbekan; Stuart-Wortley, who missed by but two days the chance of dying at Gordon's side. And here, too, were boys who could hardly lisp when their mothers told them that Gordon was dead, grown up now and appearing in the fulness of time to exact eleven thousand lives for one. Gordon may die—other Gordons may die in the future—but the same clean-limbed brood will grow up and avenge them.

. . . The Guards were playing the Dead March in "Saul." Then the black band was playing the march from Handel's "Scipio," which in England generally goes with "Toll for the Brave"; this was in memory of those loyal men among the Khedive's subjects who could have saved themselves by treachery, but preferred to die with Gordon. Next fell a deeper hush than ever, except for the solemn minute-guns that had followed the fierce salute. Four chaplains—Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist—came slowly forward and ranged themselves, with their backs to the palace, just before the Sirdar. The Presbyterian read the Fifteenth Psalm. The Anglican led the rustling whisper of the Lord's Prayer. Snow-haired Father Brindle, best beloved of priests, laid his helmet at his feet, and read a memorial prayer bare-headed in the sun. Then came forward the pipers and wailed a dirge, and the Sudanese played "Abide with me." Perhaps lips did twitch just a little to see the ebony heathens fer-

Killed
December,
1899, at
Magers-
fontein.

vently blowing out Gordon's favourite hymn; but the most irresistible incongruity would hardly have made us laugh at that moment. And there were those who said the cold Sirdar himself could hardly speak or see, as General Hunter and the rest stepped out according to their rank and shook his hand. What wonder? He has trodden this road to Khartum for fourteen years, and he stood at the goal at last.

Thus with Maxim-Nordenfeldt and Bible we buried Gordon after the manner of his race. The parade was over, the troops were dismissed, and for a short space we walked in Gordon's garden. Gordon has become a legend with his countrymen, and they all but deify him dead who would never have heard of him had he lived. But in this garden you somehow came to know Gordon the man, not the myth, and to feel near to him. Here was an Englishman doing his duty, alone and at the instant peril of his life; yet still he loved his garden. . . .

G. W. Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum* (Edinburgh and London, 1898), 310-315.

150. A Warning (1899)

. . . I ask, with the experience of India before you, do you suppose for one moment that you will be able to keep your dominions as if they were enclosed in a ring fence? We have all been reading within the last few days about the movements of the Khalifa. You will see that circumstances make it almost impossible for you to remain within your ring fence. It is no secret that there are powerful men in more than one quarter who announce that they would like to go south of Khartoum. It is no secret that there are some who would like to go as far as Uganda. [Ministerial cheers, and cries of "To Cape Town!"] Yes,

By the RT.
HON. JOHN
MORLEY
(1838-),
author,
editor, and
foremost of
Liberal
statesmen.

Sir Michael
Hicks-Beach.

that is excellent! I notice the Chancellor of the Exchequer does not cheer and barely smiles. If you suffer a good deal from a Forward Party in India, do you suppose you are not going to have a Forward Party in Africa? You have it now. I should like to remind these Gentlemen who are looking forward with such enthusiasm to going to Uganda and to carrying the Queen's dominions there, that we shall be responsible for the administration of Uganda. They say — "If we have done well in India, why should we not do equally well in Africa?" [Ministerial cheers.] Those cheers show how necessary it is for even responsible politicians to discriminate. I would like to point out three distinct differences between India and this new Empire that you propose to set up at the Equator. You have not a strong natural frontier as India has. I do not quite know whether we shall be told what the Government reckons their frontier to be, but I will undertake to say it is not a strong natural frontier such as India possesses. You have not, in the second place, a comparatively civilised and settled population, but you have vast hordes of savages; and, thirdly, your dominions would be coterminous at point after point with Powers who may or may not be your friends. You will have the most difficult of tasks in keeping the peace on your boundaries and frontiers, and everybody who gives the slightest consideration to it will perceive that the conditions under which the Government of India subsists and carries on its beneficent work are not one of them realised in the case of the new India you are going to set up at the Equator. You take Uganda. You are going to undertake responsibilities for Uganda. As for that transaction I have not the slightest desire to avoid my own share, for it was done by the Cabinet of which I had the honour to be a Member. But what has happened? At this moment there is an Estimate before the House for £500,000 or something like that, for Uganda. Do you

suppose that next year you will not be coming down with another Supplementary Estimate for the trouble — if you are going to pay for it — in your newly acquired dominion? Our experience in Uganda and the experience of the King of the Belgians in the Congo States show that all these anticipations that you will have quiet in your ring fence in civilising and humanising these wretched savages is a dream of the most fatuous kind. I am going to quote from the Chancellor of the Exchequer a passage as to which I am in profound accord with him —

“I think we shall be wiser if we attempt rather to develop what we have already acquired than to attempt to add still further to the extent of our Empire. Every extension of our Empire means an extension of our Army and possibly of our Navy. Our Navy may be increased indefinitely, subject to the supply of seamen, but our Army is not capable under our present system of indefinite extension. Therefore, we are endeavouring, as far as we can, to utilise our subject races. That is an excellent and successful policy, but it is not a policy which is capable of indefinite expansion, because it will be a bad day for this country if we trust for the maintenance of our Empire and our power to foreign mercenaries rather than to our own troops.”

That was a speech delivered a day or two before this new annexation, and I quote the Chancellor of the Exchequer not in any way to annoy him, but because he says better and with more authority than I have exactly what I think. I wonder what we are doing in Uganda? Are those British troops? They are our own troops in one sense, but are they not exactly the kind of troops the right honourable Gentleman meant when he spoke of “foreign mercenaries”? I consider that will be, indeed, a bad day, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer said. Even those who know less history than the Chancellor of the Exchequer does, are aware that if there is one lesson that history teaches more constantly and more impressively than another it is that when an empire or kingdom relies, not upon its own people, but on bands of foreign mercenaries, its

decline and fall may not be rapid, but it is sure. There is one other remark I should like to make touching a similar point, and I do not think it is unworthy the attention of such a practical body as the House of Commons is. Is it good to extend these areas of your dominion which are only capable of being governed by despotic rulers? I cannot think that it is good. It cannot be good for the ruler; it cannot be good for national character; it cannot be good for the maxims and principles of free government. When you annex this great new territory you must recognise the fact that you cannot set up a Parliament in the Soudan. You must govern it by a ruler practically despotic, though, I hope, with pretty firm and stiff instructions and supervision from this country. But however all this may be, by the step that you have taken, depending as it does upon despotic rule, calling as it does for enormous expenditure, involving as it does the use of troops which are not British, you are unconsciously—and history will mark us as having done it—transforming the faces and conditions of your Empire. There is one other point. Last night the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs addressed a political gathering. He said that in 1896 the Opposition was entirely against Soudan advance, but that now, with few exceptions, the Opposition joined the government in regard to the effects of that advance. I am not so sure of that. Then the right honourable Gentleman went on to say—

“What the members of such a club as he was addressing could well do in the constituencies was to make the people understand that Imperialism could not be run on the cheap.”

I would say that these sixty gentlemen who constitute the club in question could probably do no more foolish or unwise thing in the world than go down to the constituencies and tell them they had a Government which was an

Imperialist Government, but that they were to understand it was not to be run on the cheap. I would venture to say that the sixty gentlemen would not have to work very hard, because the tax collector is a more telling missionary of that gospel, and they will learn from the tax collector, before they are much older, that Imperialism cannot be run on cheap lines. The right honourable Gentleman in the same speech said —

“If we pay for it now, we might depend upon it that posterity would reap the benefit.”

I am quite sure if the sixty gentlemen should go to the constituencies with the lesson which the right honourable Gentleman has put into their lips, they will return to London in a much less festive humour than they were in, apparently, last night. Political friends of my own are constantly discussing what is to be the issue at the next election. Some say it will be on the Irish question, others on the House of Lords, and others on Protestantism. My own idea is becoming very clear that it will be expenditure. . . .

Rt. Hon. John Morley, Debate on the *Army Supplementary Estimates*, House of Commons, February 24, 1899 (Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, LXVII, 466-469).

151. Quid Leone Fortius

The night is full of darkness and doubt,
The stars are dim and the Hunters out :
The waves begin to wrestle and moan ;
The Lion stands by his shore alone
And sends, to the bounds of Earth and Sea,
First low notes of the thunder to be,
Then East and West, through the vastness grim,
The whelps of the Lion answer him.

The London *Spectator*, May 21, 1898.

BY R. J.
ALEX-
ANDER.

This prophecy was fulfilled in the response of the colonies in the South African crisis.

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